

April 19, 1966

dent's position and actions have been timely, correct, and in the best interests of not only our fighting men, but of all Americans.

Secretary Rusk has clearly enunciated and stated our position time and time again. The President has done so with complete candor to all Americans at frequent enough intervals to satisfy all reasonable citizens.

It is not in our national interest to continually tell the enemy what our next move is, as some people keep urging. It is not in the interest of American military men in this theater to report in great detail, a day to day account of their operations. After all, the 22 million Americans who are veterans of World Wars I and II and the Korean war do know that secrecy and surprise are necessary to successful combat operations as well as to many diplomatic necessities.

I include a very excellent editorial which appeared today in the New York Daily News by Ted Lewis, which is a searching, current analysis of our positions. Once again, let me exhort all Americans, including some of the impatient politicians, to keep our foreign policy nonpartisan and let the President conduct our foreign affairs without the impedence of the second-guessing demagogues.

#### CAPITOL STUFF (By Ted Lewis)

WASHINGTON, April 18.—President Johnson is returning to the White House from Texas to find an overwhelming demand that he clarify the administration's stand on the political foulup in South Vietnam.

This effort to make the President speak out is at the heart of all the shenanigans in Congress. Most influential Senators of both parties have now given their unsolicited advice, as well as Republican Congressional leaders, who are properly playing politics with a vengeance on the Viet issue.

All these maneuvers are basically aimed at drawing the President out. They have at the same time compounded the present confusion over the direction the administration is moving.

This was never more evident than in developments on Capitol Hill today. Under prodding questions by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Secretary of State Rusk chanced the prediction that in the forthcoming Vietnamese election the Communists would lose out. At the same time Senate Democratic Leader MIKE MANSFIELD took a somewhat opposite view, and offered another "peace package" involving some gobbledegook about it being Asia, not Washington, "where peace must now be sought."

MANSFIELD's proposal was supposed to have more importance than Rusk's carefully qualified views. This was because MANSFIELD had flown to Mexico City with L.B.J. last week. So conjectures arose that Johnson was floating a trial balloon in the hands of MANSFIELD.

This was obviously a silly conclusion for Johnson and MANSFIELD have never seen eye to eye on Vietnam.

But it is going to take the President himself to clear up such matters. He clearly cannot stay mum many days longer and must tell the Nation exactly where his administration stands in the new political situation in Vietnam.

#### PRESIDENT FOLLOWING RULE OF SILENCE

Since the start of the political crisis involving the Ky military junta, Johnson has been operating under a self-imposed rule of silence.

His own advisers, in and out of Congress, felt this mumness was smart, at least until the political dust settled. It now has in a limited way. The political landscape will not become totally clear until the late summer elections, demanded by the Buddhists, are held. But obviously the President knows he cannot wait until then to supply a chart of his revised policy course.

L.B.J. would probably much prefer to take his own sweet time about delivering any clarification. Yet in this case he has no other choice than to explain exactly where the administration stands. He must come up with answers to widely divergent congressional viewpoints.

For example, the two most intelligent military thinkers in the Senate, RICHARD B. RUSSELL, Democrat, of Georgia, and JOHN STENNIS, Democrat, of Mississippi, have posed the question of a reappraisal of our war policy.

#### RUSSELL'S POSITION ON WITHDRAWAL

RUSSELL has recommended that if a neutralist government comes to power in Saigon, and proposes we withdraw our troops, then we definitely should.

Then there is the demand by such Republicans as House GOP Leader GERALD FORD, of Michigan, that Johnson make an early choice, in view of the political mess, between accelerated bombing or commitment of 220,000 more troops "to gain a cease-fire."

The President is also under pressure to clear up various semantic nuances in his policy, nuances that never seemed important until the present political foulup developed.

This problem was touched on by Secretary Rusk under questioning at today's Senate Foreign Relations Committee hearing by Senator ALBERT GORE, Democrat, of Tennessee.

GORE wanted to know whether the administration would accept a "neutralist" government in South Vietnam should such a government be chosen. Rusk said the United States would not object if the voters favored a nonaligned government as long as South Vietnam was left safe and secure.

Rusk appeared to be trying to make a distinction between a neutralist and nonaligned government. It is a little hard for the average American to figure out the difference, unless he is reminded that Johnson in December 1963—soon after John F. Kennedy's assassination—wanted no part of neutralism in South Vietnam.

#### POLITICAL SITUATION IS UNPREDICTABLE

This is what the President said at that time in a message to Gen. Duong Van Minh, one of the temporary bosses in Saigon. "Neutralization of South Vietnam is unacceptable," said L.B.J., and added that as long as the Hanoi Communists persisted in their aggressive policy, "neutralization would only be another name for a Communist takeover."

It should not be expected that when Johnson does try to explain where his administration now stands in Vietnam, he will supply all the answers. He does not know himself because the present political situation is volatile and unpredictable.

But Presidential guidelines are needed, if only to determine the party line so that Democratic Congressmen will be able to follow the leader, knowing at least what general direction he is taking.

Whether, for example, he indicates we are going to step up our own war effort between now and the Vietnamese election, and whether he repeats the old policy line that we are only in Vietnam to rescue, on request, a country attacked by an aggressor.

The key question is too delicate to be answered publicly. It is of course whether, should such a contingency arise, we would accede to a neutralist government's request to pull our military out.

#### WEAVER'S TALK IS CITY CHALLENGE

(Mr. VANIK asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, on Saturday, April 16, 1966, Secretary Robert C. Weaver came to Cleveland and addressed the Roosevelt dinner of the Cleveland chapter of Americans for Democratic Action.

During the course of his dynamic speech, Secretary Weaver outlined President Johnson's demonstration cities proposal. He directed attention to the purpose of this program to revitalize residential areas without demolition, without relocation, and without shifting problems from one neighborhood to another.

The proposals made by Secretary Weaver were very warmly received in Cleveland, where large segments of the central city crave rehabilitation and modernization. The people of these communities have time and again reasserted their desire to live in the central city areas in close proximity to the downtown and the cultural attractions of the city. The inner city must be rebuilt for them, and Secretary Weaver's proposals give them hope.

Following is the editorial which appeared in the Cleveland Plain Dealer on April 17, 1966, entitled "Weaver's Talk Is City Challenge":

#### WEAVER'S TALK IS CITY CHALLENGE

Cleveland has been challenged to show its initiative and imagination in urban renewal planning.

It is a challenge which the citizens of the community, the city administration especially, cannot afford to neglect.

The great hopes of urban renewal, as well as its problems which at times are so depressing, were outlined in Cleveland last night by Secretary Robert C. Weaver of the Department of Housing and Urban Development.

Secretary Weaver tossed out the challenge in his address at the Roosevelt Day dinner of the Cleveland chapter of Americans for Democratic Action. He did not color the urban renewal picture rosy. But he did put the situation in understandable terms, especially when he said that halfway measures to meet the problem would not suffice.

Citizens of Cleveland and other metropolitan communities should heed his warning, that it is not enough to build up a tax base or erect architectural monuments. Citizens must become involved in revitalizing residential areas; social renewal must accompany physical improvement.

One of the best ways to interest citizens is this problem to remind them that poverty, blight and crime are inter-related.

Investment of money is useless unless, in the Secretary's words, "time, sweat and caring" go along with it.

He reminded his audience that moving to the suburbs is no escape; suburbs eventually inherit all the worst vices of urban decay. This has a special emphasis for Cleveland.

But the Secretary wasn't just theoretical. He left several suggestions for Cleveland:

Enforce building codes. Nonenforcement, as Cleveland has found out, builds overnight slums. The Federal Government will pay, in most cases, two-thirds of this expense.

Try to qualify as a Demonstration City. This operation still is before Congress but Cleveland should not waste a day in prepar-

April 19, 1966

ing its application as a target area. HUD believes the benefits of a Demonstration City rating will be of inestimable value to communities so designated.

Attack a renewal project by fixing up an entire one- two- or three-block area which will serve as an inspiring example. A patchwork attempt to do the job in a large area, such as Hough's 860 acres, is too slow, too heart-breaking. Concentrate for impact.

Urban renewal cannot stand alone on reclaimed land or demolished slum buildings. It will not do the job unless it is accompanied by expanded opportunities in housing, employment, recreation, and education. Here the secretary shows a down-to-earth realization.

His enthusiasm for the task should be contagious. Cleveland, with the splendid opportunity for improvement, with a grand new State university complex in the wings, must respond to Secretary Weaver's challenge.

It must meet the challenge—with inspiration, imagination and with energy.

The news report of the Plain Dealer of April 17 follows which quotes from Secretary Weaver's speech:

#### WEAVER SAYS GHETTOS NEED MASSIVE PROGRAMS

"Old approaches, stale thinking and mismanagement can no longer be tolerated.

"The goals we have set have evaded us for too long.

"It is simply not reasonable to assume, any longer, that the people trapped in the Harlems and the South Sides and the Houghs are going to be content with halfway measures. Nor can the Nation be content with these glaring exceptions to general affluence."

The speaker was Robert C. Weaver, Secretary of the new U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development and first Negro ever to serve in the Cabinet.

He said here yesterday that one-shot programs that deal with single phases of the Nation's vast and complex urban problems are not adequate.

He said the real answer lies in massive metropolitan area programs that would—

Achieve both property renewal and improvement in individual lives.

Coordinate simultaneous attacks on many urban problems.

Be locally planned and involve the people affected to the maximum possible extent.

Specifically, Weaver offered the "completely new strategy" of President Johnson's "demonstration cities" proposal.

Weaver spoke at the Roosevelt Day dinner of the Cleveland chapter, Americans for Democratic Action, in the Hollenden House.

The chapter gave its New Frontier Award for Community Service to Dr. Kenneth W. Clement, Cleveland surgeon and leader in many movements seeking civil rights and economic opportunity for Negroes.

Last week Dr. Clement was announced as a member of an interracial, nonprofit corporation which will build seven new apartment buildings in the Hough area.

The ADA citation recognized "his lifetime of selfless pioneering service dedicated to the improvement of human welfare, to the enhancement of human dignity and to the strengthening of our economic and political democracy."

Weaver said some urban renewal programs have fallen short and that "we cannot afford any further disruptions."

He said cities must raise their sights. "It is no longer enough to beef up a city's tax base, or to build architectural monuments, if that is all a city proposes to do."

"Unless we can honestly say that our programs have expanded opportunities for housing, for jobs, for recreation and education; unless we can honestly say that our programs are creating neighborhoods of which we can all be proud, then I say we are not doing our job."

Weaver devoted the greater part of his talk to describing the demonstration cities proposal.

"Its aim," he said, "is the total improvement in the lives of 10 percent or more of the total community population, and a basic change in the whole community."

As Weaver listed them, these are some salient features of the idea:

It would revitalize residential areas but generally without demolition and without moving people out or shifting problems from one neighborhood to another.

The community's total housing supply would be increased.

There would be rehabilitation, loans, grants, and writedowns of property values.

New public institutions, such as schools; improved utility and other services, and building code enforcement would be included.

Simultaneously, all the Federal programs, "for social and human betterment," including antipoverty programs and the various job training and vocational projects, would be focused on the area concerned.

"Multipurpose neighborhood centers," Weaver said, "would provide home management and family counseling, legal assistance, services for youth and the aging."

In a hypothetical city of 1.7 million, Weaver said, the demonstration would take 5 years and \$525 million. Under present legislation the Federal share would be \$325 million.

The city would pay \$200 million. But under the demonstration cities program, it would get 80 percent of that—\$160 million—as an additional Federal grant for additional services.

Weaver emphasized local planning. He said two undertakings here, those of Project HOPE in the Hough area and the Mount Pleasant Community Council, "indicate that there are citizens willing to take the leadership for better communities."

Also appearing below is the Plain Dealer article of April 17 entitled "Show Project in Hough Urged":

CONCENTRATE, WEAVER ADVOCES: "SHOW" PROJECT IN HOUGH URGED

(By Donald Sabath)

A demonstration program in rehabilitation for the Hough area was proposed yesterday by Robert C. Weaver, Secretary of the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development.

Weaver suggested that the city's program be small enough to be workable, yet large enough to make an impact on the residents of the renewal project.

He made the remarks after he toured the Hough area portion of the University-Euclid renewal project with U.S. Representative CHARLES A. VANK, Democrat, 21st District. The 860-acre project has been underway for 4 years.

Weaver, in Cleveland last night to address the Roosevelt Day dinner of the American for Democratic Action chapter, said the blame for lack of positive results in Hough can be shared by both his department and city renewal officials.

"It's a joint responsibility," Weaver said in an interview with The Plain Dealer. "But the initiative must come from Cleveland officials."

Weaver suggests the city pick one Hough area, one or two square blocks in size and then concentrate all its renewal resources on fixing up the area.

"Trees should be planted and recreation areas should be provided and the city should use all its resources to give a new life to this section," Weaver said.

But the best example of rehabilitation can only be the creation of adequate housing for the residents in Hough, he added.

"We should use all the tools available for rehabilitation," Weaver said, "including nonprofit organizations and low-interest Federal

loans and a wider use of programs using all the facilities of public housing."

Weaver said bringing all these together can prove the city "is doing something in Hough."

The lack of housing code enforcement in the \$16.5 million University-Euclid project was called "a great mistake" by the secretary.

Two weeks ago, James P. Friedman, urban renewal commissioner, told the U.S. Civil Rights Commission hearing here that the city did not enforce the housing code in Hough once it was designated a renewal project.

"Code enforcement is one of the major tools in rehabilitation and that is exactly what the Hough project is," Weaver said. "With housing inspections you prevent homes from getting more rundown than they are."

Weaver said two-thirds of the cost for the housing inspectors would have been paid by the Federal Government. These funds had been available for 4 years, he said.

With rent supplements, public housing and new housing, Weaver said he thought the Hough area could become a mixture of projects for both low-income and middle-income families.

The Cleveland Press article of Monday, April 18, entitled "City Acts on Weaver's Plea To Draft Massive Housing Plan" appears below:

[From the Cleveland Press, Apr. 18, 1966]

#### CITY ACTS ON WEAVER'S PLEA TO DRAFT MASSIVE HOUSING PLAN

Cleveland will be ready with plans for a massive assault on the social, economic, and housing problems of a large area of the city if President Johnson's demonstration cities program is approved by Congress.

The program would take huge areas of 60 to 70 cities and "blanket" them with every conceivable type of assistance known to make them stable and economically sound.

It calls for spending \$2,300 million in a 5-year program.

The immediate need for such drastic measures was emphasized here again during the weekend by Robert C. Weaver, new director of Urban Development Department.

"One-shot programs that deal with single phases of the Nation's vast and complex urban problems are not adequate," Weaver told the Cleveland chapter of the Americans for Democratic Action at the Hollenden House.

Locher said that Weaver's warning was "loud and clear" and that the city would be ready to participate in the program.

"I intend to call in all agencies of government again this week to map a target area for such a massive attack on all problems of a given area," Locher said.

#### PERSONAL EXPLANATION

(Mr. RUMSFELD (at the request of Mr. MORTON) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Speaker, on March 16, 1966, a rollcall vote developed—rollcall No. 40—on H.R. 6785, to promote the observance of a uniform system of daylight saving time throughout the United States. It was necessary for me to be away from Washington on that day, and the Record shows that I did not vote on the bill. Had I been present, I would have voted "yea."

#### PERSONAL EXPLANATION

(Mr. RUMSFELD (at the request of Mr. MORTON) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the

# Appendix

## Reprieve on Tax Increase

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

**HON. DEL CLAWSON**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 19, 1966

Mr. DEL CLAWSON. Mr. Speaker, an editorial appeared in the Sunday, April 17, Los Angeles Times commenting on the latest readings from the Federal economic thermostat. I commend this discussion to the attention of my colleagues for the reasonable conclusions drawn from present trends, and for the closing sound recommendations. The editorial follows:

#### REPRIEVE ON TAX INCREASE

Now that nearly 50 major companies have pledged that they will trim their own capital spending plans to help stop inflation, the Johnson administration is putting off a decision on new taxes.

Under the circumstances, such a delay seems wise.

President Johnson and his advisers have resisted right along the argument that prices are rising fast enough to warrant imposing higher income taxes on corporations and individuals.

In recent weeks, while continuing to insist that inflation has not yet arrived, the administration has stopped pretending that it is not a threat. Mr. Johnson has indicated that a tax increase will be requested if the pressures on prices get out of hand.

There has been considerable speculation that a decision on whether to go for higher taxes might be made late this month. Now, however, the day of decision has been pushed further into the future.

A major factor is the heartening response of American business leaders to the President's personal request, at a White House dinner 2 weeks ago, that they cut back spending plans for plant expansion and equipment.

Almost 50 board chairmen and company presidents have already promised Mr. Johnson in writing that they will comply. It is hoped that such voluntary restraint will help bring supply and demand back into balance by reducing the number of customers waiting in line to buy industrial goods.

A second source of encouragement is the leveling off of food prices, which increased 6.1 percent during the year ending last February. Experts now predict that the price tags on food will drop an average of 2 percent during the remainder of 1966.

Obviously, taxes should not be raised until there is a clear need, and neither Congress nor the public is likely to quarrel with President Johnson's wait-and-see policy.

Nevertheless, it is far too early for any euphoric assumptions that the problem is behind us. Because it isn't.

First, of course, there are the uncertainties raised by the Vietnam war itself—spending for which is feeding the pressures for higher prices.

Beyond that, a survey by the McGraw-Hill Co. shows that businessmen have expanded their equipment-buying plans by \$8 billion over original estimates. The study was made before the voluntary pledges of restraint

were made to the President, but it raises doubts as to whether capital spending actually can be held to anything like a non-inflationary level.

It should be noted, in this regard, that the business community's willingness to cooperate is based on the condition that the Federal Government will exercise some spending restraint of its own.

Mr. Johnson has already asked his ranking bureaucrats to trim over \$1 billion out of this year's spending plans. There is considerable skepticism—and not only among Republicans anxious to campaign on the inflation issue—that even this modest cut will actually be made.

If inflation does in fact approach dangerous proportions, higher taxes are vastly preferable to direct Government controls over wages, prices, and consumer credit.

Congress, in that event, should follow the course already indicated by the administration—that is, an across-the-board increase of 5 to 7 percent in individual and corporate income tax rates.

The lawmakers must resist the temptation to tinker now with the tax structure itself. No doubt some basic reforms are needed, but the subject is far too complicated to be handled sensibly in an emergency tax measure.

Last but not least, it should be remembered that any eventual tax increase will not help combat inflation anyway if the Government just turns around and spends the money back into circulation. To have an anti-inflationary impact, the extra revenue would have to be squirreled away by the Treasury and applied against the deficit.

## Military Recognition of Dangers Involved in Withdrawal From Vietnam

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

**HON. STROM THURMOND**

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, April 19, 1966

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, the newspapers and other communications media are full of accounts of vocal minorities who oppose U.S. policy in Vietnam. The vast majority of the American people recognize the necessity of our presence in Vietnam and our military confrontation with the Communist forces there. Our military people are generally quiet on the issue, but it is a source of great pride to me that the military recognizes the danger which would ensue from a withdrawal and stands ready to commit itself to the defense of the principles of the free world.

There has been brought to my attention a letter from an Air Force technical sergeant, Sergeant Gerard R. Eder, written to the President of the United States. This letter is an eloquent testimonial to the feelings of the enlisted men who have been in Vietnam or who at any time may be called upon to serve their country in

Vietnam. I ask unanimous consent that this letter addressed to the President of the United States be printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

HAINESPORT, N.J.  
February 23, 1966.

President LYNDON B. JOHNSON,  
The White House,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I am writing this letter in the hope that you may be able to spare a few moments from your busy schedule to read it. I pray, also, that you are being deluged with thousands of similar letters.

I know you have seen the draft card burners, the placard wavers, the so-called mothers clamoring, "Bring the boys home." I know too that the situation in Vietnam has cost you many sleepless nights, and your decisions concerning that tiny nation, and its struggle to remain free, have only been made after countless hours of careful consideration.

I hope, sir, to be able to afford you some small measure of comfort in the wake of these decisions. I feel I can speak for thousands of American servicemen, for Vietnam is frequently discussed by GI's all over the world. I have listened to, and participated in, many of these discussions. A review of these discussions reveals these general viewpoints. Our Nation has a moral obligation to aid our friends in time of need. America's servicemen would find it difficult to face our brother servicemen, from allied nations, if we adopt a policy of abandoning our friends in times of crisis. We realize that our beliefs concerning Vietnam could well cost us "blood, sweat, and tears." We are ready to pay that price, for we also realize that freedom is never bought cheaply.

You, sir, ask that we place our lives on the line in Vietnam. Our forefathers were asked to step forward in the cause of freedom in the past. They hesitated not, thus our Nation is free today. Now it is our turn to step forward to join them, this we do with pride. This, Mr. President, is the voice of your servicemen.

To those who oppose our stand in Vietnam I can say only this. To turn our backs on our allies in Vietnam would make us no less despicable than a man who would turn his back when he saw a friend being assaulted by thugs. You say our President asks us to risk our lives in Vietnam, this is true, and this we will do. You ask us to deny our friends, when they need us the most—we prefer to emulate another man, in another time, who suffered and died for his friends. Perhaps you have forgotten his name, it is Jesus Christ.

Mr. President, sleep well tonight. The true Americans, the patriots, are no less ready to fight for freedom in 1966 than they were in 1776. They are no less ready to suffer for that cause now than they were when they suffered through a bitter winter in Valley Forge. They will be no less victorious today than they were when General Howe surrendered his sword to General Washington.

Very sincerely yours,  
T. Sgt. GERARD R. EDER,  
2017th Communications Squadron (AFCS),  
McGUIRE AIR FORCE BASE, N.J.

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## CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — APPENDIX

April 19, 1966

Robertson on Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS  
OF

HON. THOMAS N. DOWNING

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 19, 1966

Mr. DOWNING. Mr. Speaker, on last Friday the senior Senator from Virginia, the Honorable A. WILLIS ROBERTSON, addressed the Peninsula Chapter of the Association of the U.S. Army at Fort Monroe, Va. He eloquently explained some of the problems that face us in the war in southeast Asia and set forth some of the lessons which we should have learned as a result of our experiences in Vietnam. It was a forceful and interesting speech which I believe will be of great interest to our colleagues, and I include it with my remarks in the Record.

Subsequent to the Senator's address, a very splendid editorial appeared in the Daily Press of Newport News, Va., and I also include it in the Record.

The address and article follow:

REMARKS OF SENATOR A. WILLIS ROBERTSON, DEMOCRAT OF VIRGINIA, AT THE SPRING MEETING OF THE VIRGINIA PENINSULA CHAPTER, OF THE ASSOCIATION OF THE U.S. ARMY, OFFICERS CLUB, FORT MONROE, VA., APRIL 15, 1966

It is an honor and a coveted privilege to address the Virginia Peninsula Chapter of the Association of the U.S. Army, not only because you have made me feel so welcome, but because, as a World War I doughboy, I feel that I am one of you. The principles and ideals which you espouse are the precepts to which I subscribe.

I wish to speak to you tonight about our defense posture and the lessons we can learn from the conflict in Vietnam.

Since April 19, 1775—the day after Paul Revere warned the countryside—the Army has participated in 99 principal wars, campaigns, expeditions, and other disturbances, up to the time of World War II. The Korean war made it an even hundred.

In other words, our Armed Forces can expect to be called upon approximately every 2 years in order to protect our American way of life.

Today we are engaged in another major conflict and under very adverse circumstances. We are fighting in disease-ridden swamps without either the allies or the support of the local people to which we are entitled. In fact, if a new civilian government be established in South Vietnam which is hostile to us and asks us to withdraw, I think we should do so.

I recognize the threat of communism to the entire free world and think we should unite with friends of freedom to resist aggression. But I do not think that South Vietnam was the proper place to make our stand, and in March of 1964 I sent a detailed statement of my reasons to the White House. Since then some 300,000 American fighting men have been committed. Today our issue is: How can we get them home and still honor our commitments?

However, I do not intend to address the uncertainties of the future in that conflict. Rather, I will speak to the certainties of the moment—the clear lessons we can learn from the war in Vietnam.

One of the lessons of Vietnam is the truism that a state of preparedness is the price of liberty. At times, because of seeming relaxation of Communist militancy, we are inclined to hope that they have given up their

obsession for ultimate world domination. We tend to dismiss the repeated utterances of Russian leaders epitomized by Khrushchev when he said, "We will bury you."

But because we are a peace-loving nation, we find it hard to accept the fact that we must continually keep our muskets ready and our powder dry.

In World War I, in World War II, and in the Korean war, when we were immediately forced to call on our Reserve components, we found it necessary to prepare ourselves for the needs of the moment after these wars had begun.

There are indications today that, except in obvious matters, we again are being content to minister to the needs of the moment instead of the contingencies of the future.

The budget for the Department of Defense may have suffered because of other national interests. The war on poverty, for example, has been considered by many as great an emergency as the war in Vietnam.

Let me give you an illustration of how the defense budget suffered. Last July, during hearings by the Senate Appropriations Committee, it became obvious to our members that the sums being requested would not be adequate, because the budget had not taken the buildup in Vietnam into consideration.

Defense witnesses were actually testifying on requests for funds which they knew would be utilized, not for the items under discussion, but to replenish moneys drawn off under transfer authority from certain accounts to meet urgent war needs.

The committee urged the Department of Defense to reexamine its requirements and to submit a request for the additional sums required to accelerate preparedness.

Finally, a request for an additional \$1.7 billion was presented and quickly approved. Following up this action, the Department, in January, requested an additional \$13.1 billion and the Congress provided the full amount. The vote in the Senate was 86 to 2. Thus, the Congress not only supports the defense requests but, on occasion, finds it necessary to prod the Department to provide a more adequate defense.

One such area is in trained manpower. In part, this difficulty arises from the decision on the part of the administration not to call up our Reserve forces, but to rely on enlistments and the draft to fill our increased requirements. I will not argue the wisdom of this, but I will argue that a policy which requires the immediate acceleration of the draft or the callup of the Reserves during practically every international crisis may well limit the flexibility of our forces which may be required at any time.

The Congress, and more particularly the Senate Appropriations Committee, for a number of years opposed the cutback in military personnel. We also urged that the size of our Reserve forces be maintained despite Defense Department opposition. To preserve that strength, we repeatedly placed a floor under the Army Reserve and National Guard to prevent their being reduced. As a matter of fact, were it not for the action taken by our committee only last August, the Army Reserve would have been completely liquidated as paid drill units.

The lesson is obvious. We cannot always hope that Moscow and Peking will give us sufficient opportunity to call up new recruits, train them and deploy them in time to meet these recurring crises.

Another lesson on we should have learned in Vietnam deals with the adequacy of equipment, ammunition and materiel. Figures on procurement of these items indicate, as with manpower, that Defense requests are tailored to peacetime needs rather than to potential danger. I find it hard to subscribe to this philosophy in an era of recurring world unrest.

Despite Pentagon statements to the con-

trary, there are those who assert that our Strategic Reserve Forces are both under-equipped and undermanned. It is not enough for this country to maintain just enough equipment and materiel for our immediate needs.

In 1962 I had the privilege of addressing your national meeting in Washington. I urged that attention be given to intratheater airlift in direct support of the ground forces.

Today, the 1st Cavalry Division, known as the Airmobile, has been activated and deployed to Vietnam. In a related action the Army has stepped up its requests for airlift of all types. I applaud these heartening actions and would hope the Department would accelerate plans to establish another airmobile division.

There is yet another lesson we can learn from Vietnam. We can learn to avoid playing the enemy's game. Because we are fighting on his home grounds, it does not necessarily follow that we must use his weapons and only his weapons.

Our self-imposed rules cost us victory in the Korean war. They may well do it again. There are Americans who would have us stop bombing North Vietnam. There are even those who decry our use of tear gas, used in every civilized nation to break up mob disorders. But they are not military experts. What I am concerned about is the official policy of our Government—the treatment of Haiphong as a privilege sanctuary, for example.

In this war it has been the announced policy of the administration to fight a limited war with limited objectives. With this I am in full accord. To invite unnecessary escalation is as repugnant to American thinking as it is dangerous to the very existence of civilization.

Let us retain limited objectives, yes. But let us also fight the war in such a way as to limit American casualties insofar as possible.

As of March 31, 1966, we have suffered a total of 17,663 casualties. Of these, 3,402 were either killed outright or died as a result of participation. To reduce the flow of supplies to the Vietcong would save countless American lives.

There are two obvious methods by which this may be accomplished. One is to cut off the flow down the Ho Chi Minh trail, but this is most difficult to accomplish. The other method gives much greater promise. It would be a relatively simple matter to bomb out the petroleum stores and other supplies in the port of Haiphong. It would also be quite possible to mine effectively the harbor area, or to impose a naval blockade.

Why have we not done this? Principally because such action would entail the risk of escalating the war. It is a political decision entailing the probability or possibility of active Chinese or Russian participation.

But such a decision, to me at least, begs the point. If we are in this war to win, we must fight with the resources at our disposal. To refuse to utilize those weapons in which we are superior is to jeopardize the lives of countless American boys and, in fact, the outcome of the war itself. It must puzzle the enemy that we should employ such a psychology. Certainly no one is so naive as to believe that the Chinese or the Russians would refrain from active participation if they believed it in their interests to intervene.

Before I close I should like to say a word about the role Virginia is playing in our defense posture. This very night there are 72,000 Virginians under arms in all branches of the service. There are 88,811 military personnel stationed in Virginia and 79,582 civilians employed by the services. The Defense Department's capital investment in the State amounts to over a billion and a half dollars, and the annual payroll is nearly a billion dollars.

April 19, 1966

## CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — APPENDIX

A2101

The picture confronting us in southeast Asia is dark but it has a bright spot—never has the valor of the American fighting man excelled the irrefragable courage of those now fighting for us in South Vietnam. That their sacrifices may not be in vain, let us pray for a just and lasting peace. That their sacrifices may help to deter aggression in the future, let us strengthen our defenses and adjust our objectives so as to limit the cost in American lives.

[From the Newport News (Va.) Daily Press, Apr. 17, 1966]

## ROBERTSON ON VIETNAM

Friday's visit of Senator A. WILLIS ROBERTSON to the peninsula was featured by a well-balanced appraisal of the war in Vietnam and the military posture of the United States. From his remarks before the Peninsula Chapter of the Association of the U.S. Army, it can be readily seen that he is neither a "hawk" nor a "dove," in favor of neither all-out escalation nor precipitant withdrawal.

Senator ROBERTSON is one of many qualified observers who don't think South Vietnam is the proper place to make our stand against communism's threat to the free world. But we are there in force, we have made a commitment, and he wants the job to be done efficiently with a minimum loss of American lives.

He takes issue with the treatment of Haiphong as a privileged sanctuary, favoring bombing out the petroleum stores and other supplies there, and mining the harbor area or imposing a naval blockade. These, the Senator asserts, are limited measures in accord with our limited objectives; he pictures the enemy as puzzled that we fail to take such steps.

Senator ROBERTSON, after discussing the strategy and the uncertainties of the conflict, went on to offer certain lessons that we can learn from it. Because of "seeming relaxation of Communist militancy" our military planning has too much in the past been based on the hope that there was no great need for vigilance, for preparedness. As was the case in Korea, we are now paying the price of that gullibility. And even today, he said, "except in obvious matters, we are again being content to administer to the needs of the moment instead of the contingencies of the future."

We are, indeed, a peace-loving nation, and too inclined to give our foes the credit for similar motivation. Senator ROBERTSON has quoted disturbing, alarming evidence to the effect that Defense Department requests for equipment, ammunition, materiel, and manpower have been "tailored to peacetime needs rather than to potential danger." But historically we have ignored the obvious lesson.

## Asian Scholars' Role in U.S. Policy

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. THRUSTON B. MORTON

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES  
Tuesday, April 19, 1966

Mr. MORTON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record a letter written by Dr. Charles B. McLane, professor of government at Dartmouth College, which recently appeared in the "Letters to the Editor" column of the New York Times. In my opinion, Dr. McLane has put many complicated facts into reasonable focus.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

## ASIAN SCHOLARS' ROLE IN U.S. POLICY

To the Editor:

Senator J. W. FULBRIGHT's hearings on China appear to have left the rails, and this is a pity for all concerned. What began as an orderly and much-needed review of the condition of the Chinese People's Republic, for the enlightenment of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations and the public, became at best a perplexing confrontation of opposing arguments regarding American recognition of China, and at worst a new version of the numbers game.

In the latest phase of the committee's hearings, George Taylor and David Rowe were paired against Doak Barnett and John Fairbank as opponents and supporters, respectively, of a more flexible American policy toward China. Meanwhile the entire fraternity of Asian scholars appears ready to take sides on this issue, if we are to judge from the March 20 statement signed by 198 of these scholars and its continuing repercussions.

## VIEWS RELEVANT?

Can it—or should it—matter what Doak Barnett, John Fairbank and their allies or George Taylor, David Rowe and theirs have to say about American policy toward China before a Senate committee presumably bent on gathering information to determine its own position?

Is it the best use of these distinguished students of China to insist so much that their views on recognition be made known, and then publicized (views, incidentally, which are largely known to their colleagues if not until recently to Senators and to the general public)? Is their knowledge of China less valuable because these views, as must now be inevitable, label them as liberal or conservative?

That they have the right and in some measure the responsibility to make their views known in other ways—through articles, lectures and so forth—goes without saying. But is it proper that such extraordinary attention be given to their opinion on American policy before Senator FULBRIGHT's committee? I doubt if these scholars themselves would agree that it should.

American policy toward China is an immensely complex political question and must in the last analysis be determined by fully responsible political figures in the Government. No one, of course, would question the relevance of the Senators studying the problem, though it is the President who must make the ultimate determination on advice from the State Department and other counsel.

What is questioned is the weight properly to be attached to the liberal and cautious opinions of the Senate committee's informants.

## EXTENT OF TASK

The role of Professors Barnett, Fairbank, Taylor, Rowe and others, it is argued here, should be to provide from the very great knowledge at their command—and the knowledge we must assume unaffected by their judgment in the present instance—the solid information about China which Senator FULBRIGHT and his colleagues require. Here their task should end.

It is, in my view, irrelevant of Senator FULBRIGHT's committee to ask them for opinions which go beyond this, incautious of the scholars to give them, and quite misleading for the press (the New York Times included) to feature these opinions as though profound wisdom attached to them.

We do not, I hope, base a policy decision to build, or not to build, larger nuclear devices on the recommendations of the physicist, or a decision to accelerate our race to

the moon on the opinion of the astronaut, though each provides indispensable evidence relating to these decisions.

Should it be otherwise with respect to American policy toward China?

CHARLES B. McLANE,

Professor of Government, Dartmouth College.

HANOVER, N.H., April 1, 1966.

## Realism and Arms Control

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 19, 1966

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, the Third International Arms Control Symposium was held in Philadelphia from March 31 through April 3. In contrast to previous symposia, this one included participants who expressed a number of hardheaded, practical viewpoints on the subject as contracted to the emotional approach. This fact was noted on the editorial page of the Richmond News Leader for April 5, as follows:

## A FLUTTERING IN PHILLY

PHILADELPHIA.—Even while Soviet Defense Minister Rodion Malinovsky was boasting of Soviet military might at the 23d Party Congress, the hawks were fluttering the doves at Philadelphia. Representatives from around the world, gathered here at the Third International Arms Control Symposium, were amazed at the blunt attitude of realpolitik evolving among the disarmament experts. Traditionally a roost for ban-the-bombers, the Symposium this time developed a solid consensus against two key elements of the official U.S. disarmament policy.

The items that fell under attack were, first of all, the U.S. failure to construct antiballistic missile defense systems, and secondly, our frenzied activity to achieve a treaty against the proliferation of nuclear weapons among the presently nonnuclear nations. Although the experts represented a broad spectrum of opinion, from the utopian Senator JOSEPH CLARK, of Pennsylvania to Edward Teller, father of the H-bomb, the preponderant weight of expert judgment was for a hard-nosed attitude in disarmament discussions. Even governmental experts from India, Italy, Germany, and Britain were, on the whole, surprisingly in agreement.

Unknown to the Symposium participants, Malinovsky in Moscow was boasting of increased Soviet defenses that appear to be their long-expected antiballistic missile system (ABM). The United States has refused to initiate work on such a defense for the past 6 years; Secretary McNamara has asserted that ABM's cost too much for their effectiveness. Moreover, he has argued that better U.S. defenses would tend to spur the Soviets to greater efforts in military offense, thus escalating the arms race.

Yet the most dramatic moment in the symposium in Philadelphia came Saturday night when Dr. Teller announced that he had abandoned his previous opposition to an ABM system. Under present technology, he said, the ABM was not only cost-feasible, but a necessity if our retaliatory strike capacity was to remain undamaged. Dr. Teller stated categorically that U.S. security had declined in the past 5 years. Not only was the great prestige of Dr. Teller thus hurled against



April 19, 1966

Secretary McNamara's policy, but the panel of scientists split 3 to 2 in urging immediate plans for the deployment of an ABM system—a process that would take 10 years. Other disarmament specialists rose from the floor to say that a credible ABM defense system would make it easier to halt the spread of nuclear weapons.

In the same way, the U.S. draft anti-proliferation treaty was attacked from the most unexpected sources. The official dogma of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency is that the spread of nuclear weapons outside the nuclear club makes accidental war more probable. India's delegate to the Geneva Conference, Ambassador V. C. Trevedi, deplored the great haste with which the United States was pushing the argument; in his view, the most urgent problem was the proliferation of nuclear weapons within the club. A specialist from the Rand Corp. said it was unlikely that any other nation could spend enough to upset the world power balance within 20 years, while an analyst from MIT held that the real use of nuclear weapons was to help in political maneuvering, not as an actual instrument of destruction. Indeed, Representative CRAIG HOSMER, a member of the Joint Atomic Energy Committee, suggested that the answer may be to give nuclear weapons to every country, instead of trying to turn back the clock of technology. The proposal was not altogether facetious.

During the coffee breaks, there were low mutterings in some more idealistic quarters about the course that the discussions were taking. But others were satisfied that, at last, disarmament experts were thinking about arms control in the context of freedom, as well as peace.—J.P.L.

### The Poor Are the Victims

EXTENSION OF REMARKS  
OF

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES  
Tuesday, April 19, 1966

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I call the Senate's attention to an excellent editorial which recently appeared on the pages of the Aiken Standard and Review in Aiken, S.C.

The editorial very lucidly points out some of the unfortunate results connected with so-called social legislation. The writer shows how intended beneficiaries of this legislation have actually turned out to be innocent victims. Their plight, in many cases, is now worse than before the legislation was enacted.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the editorial entitled "The Poor Are the Victims" appearing in the Aiken Standard and Review on Monday, April 11, 1966, be printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

#### THE POOR ARE THE VICTIMS

Supposed social and economic reforms, imposed by the Government, may be well meant. But, in case after case, they create more problems than they solve, and these problems are felt most severely by those least able to bear them.

For example, Prof. Yale Brozen of the University of Chicago, writing in the New Individualist Review, says: "The net result of

our urban renewal program has been increased cost of housing for the poor and the destruction of the livelihoods of hundreds of small businessmen. As the minimum wage rate has been raised, more and more people have been laid off who were not worth the higher wage rate."

There is abundant evidence to support these pessimistic declarations. All over the country where urban renewal has been practiced, great numbers of people, mostly in the low income brackets, have been forced from their homes. In many instances, they have had no alternative save to accept poorer lodgings at increased rents. And this, let it be stressed, is happening at a time when a war on poverty is an official national goal.

The steady increases in the Federal minimum wage—and a campaign is underway to up it at this session of Congress—has produced similar troubles for large numbers of people. The fault lies in the fact that the minimum is entirely arbitrary and takes no account of a worker's productivity or value. The inevitable result is that various industries, retarding being an outstanding example, which have room for unskilled and marginal workers are forced to reduce this kind of employment to the limit. The workers simply cannot produce enough to justify the legal wage. And so these workers are denied the opportunity to gain experience and skills that would qualify them for better jobs.

Too often, the poor are the victims of ill-conceived social betterment programs.

### Millennium of Christianity in Poland Reached on April 14

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK ANNUNZIO

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 19, 1966

Mr. ANNUNZIO. Mr. Speaker, a milestone in the history of the Polish people was reached on April 14 when the celebration of the 1,000th anniversary of Poland's conversion to Christianity began.

In A.D. 966, when Poland was emerging as a nation, the Polish ruler, Mieszko, adopted Christianity as a state religion. Throughout the centuries that followed, Poland's Christianity has helped to keep intact the nationality of its people and has sustained the Poles through centuries of turbulence, strife, and foreign domination.

This year, thousands of Poles, led by Stefan Cardinal Wyszyński joyfully joined in celebrating the millennium of Christianity in Poland. The festivities will continue through May 3, when a ceremony will be held at the shrine of Czestochowa.

In my own Seventh Congressional District of Illinois, there are over 30,000 Polish-Americans who are joining their countrymen across the ocean in commemorating 1,000 years of Christianity. This commemoration not only has a religious significance, but also an equally important national and cultural significance, for during 1,000 years of existence, a strong feeling of nationality and pride in country has developed, and the particular Polish culture which has evolved has made many important contributions to the advancement of world civilization.

With real pride and a deep feeling of kinship for the courageous Polish people, I join my colleagues in the Congress in observing the momentous millennium of Christianity in Poland.

In the April 22 issue of Time magazine an article appeared on the Polish millennium. It gives me great pleasure to insert this article in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, as follows:

#### POLAND: TOWARD THE MILLENNIUM

Poland's Roman Catholic Church has been planning for a decade to solemnly celebrate the nation's conversion to Christendom 1,000 years ago this year. Religious ceremonies are scheduled for many parts of the country, but the highlight will come May 3, the Polish national holiday, when thousands of Poles will journey to the Jasna Gora Monastery in Czestochowa, home of the nationally cherished "Black Madonna." The Communist regime of Wladyslaw Gomulka, which has conducted a running feud with the church, is desperately anxious to avoid or at least diminish any public demonstration of Roman Catholic power in Poland. Last week, as the church began the first of its millennium celebrations, the Communists were busy creating every imaginable block and trying to convert the millennium into a purely secular "Polish state" occasion.

#### ADEQUATE EQUALS ZERO

Gomulka had already vetoed a visit to Czestochowa by Pope Paul VI to celebrate a Millennial Mass, but now he seemed intent on keeping Catholics of all ranks—as well as others—away. Visas have been denied to the 150 foreign bishops, archbishops, and cardinals invited to Czestochowa. Polish tourist offices in Europe and the United States have been blandly advising that visas will not be granted to Western pilgrims, who were originally expected to number 3 million. One explanation: "The country will already be too full of tourists." As for TV and newspaper coverage, some 125 Western newsmen and TV and radio teams have been refused entry, on the ground that the Polish state press and TV would provide adequate coverage—which to date has been zero.

The Government also threw up a blizzard of obstacles to prevent Poles themselves from taking part. It has announced two top-drawer soccer matches for the big day on May 3, scheduled huge rallies and military parades for Gniezno and Poznan on the very days last week when official church celebrations got underway in those two cities. Trains to Czestochowa will be sporadic at best; many roads will be "under repair." The Government has launched a massive propaganda campaign to discredit the church, calling Stefan Cardinal Wyszyński, its tough outspoken leader, a neo-Fascist and a friend of Germany. Posters showing Nazi war crimes in Poland are going up everywhere sarcastically captioned: "Grant and beg forgiveness"—a quote from the letter sent by Polish prelates last fall inviting German bishops to Czestochowa in a gesture of reconciliation. As an added touch, the Government last week opened in Warsaw "The Deputy," the Rolf Hochhuth play that attacks Pius XII for not fighting nazism.

#### BLARING MUSIC

All of this has hardly cowed the Poles. In Gniezno and Poznan last week, throngs of worshippers filled the churches and cathedrals to overflowing. Some 15,000 Poles defiantly raised their voices in prayer during an open-air "Te Deum" outside St. Mary's Cathedral in Gniezno, while Government loudspeakers tried in vain to drown them out by blaring military music, low-flying helicopters churned up choking clouds of dust, and steel-helmeted troops with burp guns prowled the streets. En masse, the faithful followed Cardinal Wyszyński next day to the stations of the cross on Tych Hill, later

A2114

## CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — APPENDIX

April 19, 1966

Today he more likely will mention Ottumwa, Burlington, Mount Pleasant, Davenport, or other Iowa cities.

After years of leaving the State to find work, Iowans now are finding good-paying jobs nearer home. The reason: Iowa, in the heart of the rich American farm belt, is fast industrializing.

The national trend toward fewer farms and farmers has hurt this big agricultural State. Since 1960, the farm population has dropped by 70,000.

Iowa hasn't had enough industry to absorb all farmers leaving their land.

Not only have farmers migrated out of State. There was an alarming number of skilled and professional workers, schooled in Iowa, leaving. Without more industry, there were no jobs for them, either.

"If we didn't have so much agriculture to begin with we could be a growing State today," reflects Dr. Wilbur R. Maki of Iowa State University.

"In States like Michigan or New York, drops in farm employment did not affect total employment much. Here we need a tremendous increase in nonagricultural jobs to make up for loss in farm employment."

## WIDE CHOICE SOUGHT

In 1960, Iowa ranked 12th among the States in net outmigration. Only the Southern States (Negro migration north) and Appalachian States (poor whites) topped it.

With its outmigration, Iowa was educating part of California's labor force, where many moved. And those in Washington, Colorado, Arizona, Michigan, Ohio, and Illinois.

"When an individual looks for a job," says Richard Konicek of the Iowa Development Commission in Des Moines, "he feels he can find a wider choice in metropolitan areas."

"Iowa has no single dominant metropolitan area. The job seeker feels more secure going to one large city instead of dozens of small towns."

And in Iowa most small towns are declining rather than offering jobs.

There are 600 with less than 1,000 population. And another 200 with less than 1,500. Fifty percent of the State's 2,700,000 people live on farms or in towns under 2,500 population.

Now after 15 years of seeing more people leave the State than enter it, Iowans are reversing the trend.

Iowa is beginning to take advantage of its dominant position in the Nation's agriculture. "The entire food industry and export trade will be our salvation," says Mr. Konicek.

## MARKET EXPANDED

It is attracting farm-related industry. It is expanding its world market for farm produce.

The shift toward more industry has been slow in coming. But now the trek of business into the State is breaking all economists' projections.

There are several reasons for Iowa's recent turn of fortune:

Its location in the farm center of the Nation is ideal for builders of farm machinery.

There is a growing trend westward for industry.

Two rivers, the Mississippi and Missouri, border Iowa. Barge traffic on both is increasing.

Iowa ranks fourth in the Nation in railway trackage.

Thus it was no happenstance that last year Massey-Ferguson decided to move its North American headquarters from Detroit and Toronto to Des Moines.

It also plans a new assembly plant there. Dozens of similar manufacturers are planning to get closer to the farm market.

Iowa now leads the Nation, says Mr. Konicek, in production of farm machinery.

Clinton on the Mississippi has won a \$60 million petrochemical plant.

A firm employing 1,000 people making controls for color television will locate in Ottumwa in southern Iowa.

Much of this growth, particularly that farm related, has come in anticipation of Iowa's expansion of world trade in corn and soybeans.

## Methinks the Air Force Protesteth Too Much

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. OTIS G. PIKE

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 19, 1966

Mr. PIKE. Mr. Speaker, in two consecutive issues of the Air Force and Space Digest, a magazine published by the Air Force Association, there have been critical articles entitled: "Pike Subcommittee Report on Tactical Air," and "An Open Letter to Congressman OTIS G. PIKE."

Since they spelled my name right, perhaps I should just let them keep sniping on a monthly basis, but since the name stands almost alone as something they got right, a few further comments may be in order.

The alleged motivation for this little vendetta is a report made by a special subcommittee of the House Armed Services Committee entitled "Close Air Support." The subcommittee was appointed on August 17, 1965, by Chairman L. MENDEL RIVERS of the House Armed Services Committee and consisted of nine members: RICHARD H. ICHORD, of Missouri; LUCIEN N. NEDZI, of Michigan; G. ELLIOTT HAGAN, of Georgia; DONALD J. IRWIN, of Connecticut; FRANK E. EVANS, of Colorado; BOB WILSON, of California; CHARLES GUBSER, of California; CHARLES CHAMBERLAIN, of Michigan; and myself as chairman.

Hearings were held in Washington in September and October. Witnesses included Army Special Forces personnel who had seen a great deal of ground combat in Vietnam; Air Force, Marine, and Navy pilots who had flown hundreds of missions in Vietnam; and Army, Air Force, and Defense Department witnesses on the policymaking level in Washington.

The report was filed with Chairman RIVERS on January 27, 1966. It was unanimous. It was critical of both the Air Force and the Army in certain respects. If the Army resented the criticism they shrugged it off. We seem to have struck a nerve with the Air Force brass, however, for they have been screaming more like sick sea gulls than wounded eagles ever since. If it were not for the lives at stake it might be mildly amusing. As it is, the attempt to make a great success out of what has been a slighted, downgraded, underfinanced close air support role in the Air Force is not only pathetic, it is dangerous.

On Friday, February 25, 1966, the Secretary of the Air Force praised the Air Force's close air support performance in a speech to the Executives Club of Chi-

cago. As reported in the Aviation Daily of February 28, the Secretary said:

Our equipment for close air support, I believe, is the best in the world.

The article listed just four aircraft: the A-1E, the A-7, the COIN, and the F-4.

Not one of those aircraft is a plane developed by the Air Force. Three were developed by the Navy, the fourth by the Marines.

Of the four tactical aircraft requested in the supplemental authorization for the Vietnam war by the Air Force this year, not one was developed by the Air Force; two were Navy planes, one a Marine plane, the fourth privately developed and used by the CIA.

It must be galling to the Air Force to find itself so ill-equipped for close air support in a guerrilla environment that it had to get planes from the Army—O-1 spotter planes—the Navy, and the Marines in order to do its job of close air support in Vietnam. Such has been the fact, however, and the Air Force does itself and the Nation a disservice by trying to conceal the fact.

The official organ of the Air Force Association has gone even further. Before attacking the subcommittee's report they rewrote it to suit their own purposes. The committee's report was limited to the quality of the close air support provided our own troops and our Vietnamese allies. The title of the report was "Close Air Support." It was printed on the cover in large letters. The Air Force Digest made it "Pike Subcommittee Report on Tactical Air." This enabled them to talk about a lot of other things. Usually erroneously.

In the March issue Mr. Witze, the senior editor, tells how the subcommittee visited Vietnam after the hearings were over, and were told by the Army generals how thankful they were for the support they got from the Air Force. Fact: This subcommittee never went to Vietnam. Mr. Witze points out in a magnificently garbled paragraph that there have been political restraints in Vietnam and says that when he landed at Tan Son Nhut airport in mid-1964, "the RF-101's were lined up on the ramp ready to go." Go where and do what? I suspect that the senior editor really knows that RF-101's take pictures, they do not provide close air support.

In the April issue the Air Force Digest contains a story by Sam Butz, giving the Air Force's version of a part of an operation known as Harvest Moon. The story features a picture of Mr. Butz riding in the back seat of an O-1 Bird Dog. This is the plane which the Air Force had to get from the Army. After they got them they painted teeth on them and took Mr. Butz flying around Vietnam. Either they fly better or frighten the Vietcong more with teeth painted on them. In the turgid prose of the Air Force Digest this is described as distinctive marking.

The article, which is in the form of a letter to me, is a supposed testimonial to the proposition that the Air Force system of close air support is better than the

April 19, 1966

## CONGRESSIONAL RECORD -- APPENDIX

A2113

With some merit, perhaps, we can explain our present decadence and immorality in terms of social ills and economic failures, but these are but the handy excuses. These are but the means of soothing America's conscience. For the real cause of moral degradation and spiritual downgrading is that Americans—in far too great a number—have abdicated their personal duty to God.

While it is essential that we become fully aware of our physical danger—God grant that we may never become so obsessed with material defenses that we overlook the basic problems with which we are confronted.

Behind all of many multiple problems is man himself and he constitutes his own major problem.

Materialism and atheism are breeding grounds for corruption, anarchy and revolutions. America must be prepared. We will be prepared when God's power—working through us as individuals and a Nation—gives concrete evidence of honesty, purity, unselfishness, and love.

As we enter the concluding days of Holy Week, we approach Easter Sunday with hope, light, and life. This gives us strength and courage to carry on in a world that is fraught with distrust, unrest, and deep trouble.

The heart of the Easter message is a victory out of defeat. Life would have been without hope had it not been for what happened on that first Easter morning. The Resurrection changed everything.

The Master's earthly life was devoted to persuading all men to become one family of brethren.

His pure and lofty lessons were intended to insure the happiness of mankind.

He came to set truth in the place of error, and loving kindness in the place of hatred and persecution.

He taught that every man shall do that only unto his brother which he would wish his brother to do unto him.

He endeavored to deliver his brethren from the bonds of tyranny, to protect the weak and feeble, and to bring back to the paths of duty the oppressors of humanity, but they listened not unto Him and nailed Him to the cross, and as such, He sealed his Gospel of love with His life.

His life was the embodiment of love—self-denial and self-sacrifice. Truly, "Greater love has no man than this; that he lay down his life for his friends."

At this Easter season, I think it is most fitting to recall the beautifully written poem on the Resurrection by Dr. Phillip Brooks:

"Tomb, thou shalt not hold Him longer;  
Death is strong, but life is stronger;  
Stronger than the dark, the light;  
Stronger than the wrong, the right;  
Faith and hope triumphant say,  
'Christ will rise on Easter Day.'"

**Stay, Play After School****EXTENSION OF REMARKS**

OF

**HON. JAMES G. O'HARA**

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, April 19, 1966*

Mr. O'HARA of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, there is no question in my mind that one of the most important—if not the most important—action of the 89th Congress was the passage last year of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. As a member of the House Committee on Education and Labor, I am very proud of this major accomplishment in improving both the quantity and quality

of education available to the young people of America.

It was a real pleasure to read recently in the Macomb Daily, a newspaper published in Mount Clemens, Mich., about how the Elementary and Secondary Education Act has been put to work to help the youngsters attending the Mount Clemens Community Schools.

I remember, Mr. Speaker, when I was in elementary school how anxious we used to be to get out of school at the end of a day. Not so any more—at least not among some of the youngsters attending the Mount Clemens Community Schools.

These youngsters, as the author of the article in the Macomb Daily points out, are helping to shatter another stereotype of the American scene. They are actually returning to school after school hours—and, what is more, they are enjoying it.

Mr. Speaker, I hope Members of Congress will take the time to read Mr. Anthony J. Malta's article on the extended day program of the Macomb County Community Schools. The article, which appeared under the headline "Stay, Play After School," follows:

**STAY, PLAY AFTER SCHOOL**

(By Anthony J. Malta)

MOUNT CLEMENS.—Another stereotype has faded from the American scene— whoever heard of youngsters going back to school after the school day is done?

Remember the glad cries of "No more pencils, no more books" when the school bell rang? The chorus has diminished somewhat in the Mount Clemens Community Schools.

And Arthur Towe has not only heard of youngsters eagerly flocking back to the classrooms during the late afternoon and early evening hours—he has been overwhelmed by the way they've been doing it.

Deputy Superintendent Towe's new "extended day" program at four elementary schools has received a tremendous vote of confidence from the youngsters.

They attend. Each week has seen increasing numbers of elementary and junior high school students flocking back to partake of classes in arts and crafts and physical education after normal school hours. Currently about 2,000 students are participating in the after school activities at the Clemens, Edison, Grant and Lincoln elementary schools.

The extended day program, financed by a \$49,660 Federal tax grant under provisions of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, was originally expected to handle a capacity of about 900 children.

"The attendance of the children speaks volumes for itself," said Mrs. Carol Mitchell, who directs the arts and crafts portion of the program. George Wiggins, a Mount Clemens High School teacher heads up the physical education activities and Walter Multer acts as coordinator for the program.

The elementary level children are attending classes from 4 to 6 p.m. and the junior high children attend sessions from 5:30 to 8 p.m.

Activities range from model making to bounding around on a trampoline.

"In essence," said Towe, "what we're trying to do is give the children a place, and some meaningful activities after school hours."

The program has become much more than that.

Financed under the provisions of President Johnson's "War on Poverty," the program has also "extended the kids' appreciation of living," said Mrs. Mitchell. "We're making them aware that there are more things to life than what they see about them."

To the kids, it's a bit more simple than that.

It's making something with their own hands, or doing something, like bouncing on a trampoline, that they've never done before. It's having a place to go, and something to do.

The enthusiasm of the children seems to give 2,000 more reasons each week to School Superintendent William Berkhof's concept for a community school program in Mount Clemens.

When the extended day program was announced and approved by the school board, Berkhof commented this program could be the beginning of a community school program in Mount Clemens—utilizing school facilities after normal hours not only for children, but for adults as well.

Equipment and supplies, as well as the teaching staff and the parent volunteers, could be extended on to include the Head-start program for prekindergarten youngsters during the summer months and city recreation activities as well.

**Industry Jobs Curb Iowa Outmigration****EXTENSION OF REMARKS**

OF

**HON. JOHN R. HANSEN**

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, April 19, 1966*

Mr. HANSEN of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, Iowa is considered by most easterners to be an agricultural State. Indeed the "Hawkeye State" is one of the Nation's greatest sources of food, producing over 10 percent of our food supply.

While we Iowans are proud of our productive farms, I feel that legislators from the East tend to overlook some of the other important contributions of our State. Iowa is a "bridge State" between the East and the West. Iowa as a linking unit is just as important now as it was as one of the starting points of the pony express in earlier years. One of our Nation's great railway systems has had its eastern terminal located at Council Bluffs since the Civil War.

Iowa is a land of paradox; a beautiful area of fresh, unpolluted air and water—ranking 18th among the States in manufactured exports. It is a land of friendly, homespun, and hospitable people—with the highest functional literacy rate in the Nation.

While maintaining its natural beauty, Iowa has continued to progress with an increased emphasis on industry. For the benefit of my colleagues, particularly those from the East, I herewith submit a recent article from the Christian Science Monitor which points to some of the advances made along these lines in recent years especially since the beginning of the change in philosophy that had its start in Iowa about 10 years ago.

The article follows:

[From the Christian Science Monitor, Apr. 2, 1966]

**INDUSTRY JOBS CURB IOWA OUTMIGRATION**  
(By a staff correspondent of the Christian Science Monitor)

CHICAGO.—Ask a young Iowan looking for work where he hopes to find it. Two years ago he would have said Omaha, St. Louis, Chicago, or perhaps Minneapolis.



April 19, 1966

## CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — APPENDIX

A2115

Marine Corps system. It contains such delightful pieces of self-praise as this:

As they came over a ridge they saw a group of about 100 ARVN troops, led by a U.S. adviser, running up a hill. Behind them on the trail were at least 150 VC. One FAC (that's the Air Force man in the Army plane—forward air controller) swung down and fired his AR-15 automatic rifle at the leading VC group, killing two of them.

Comment: Sure he did.

The other called in an AC-47, one of the old C-47 transports recently equipped with three rapid firing Gatling guns.

Comment: This latest addition to the Air Force's inventory of close air support aircraft was first flown in 1935.

However, it has not been possible for a reporter to get any realistic discussion of the operation from official sources in Vietnam.

Comment: Obviously.

It is too bad that the Air Force is so sensitive on this subject. They use the argument that I am prejudiced because 20 years ago I flew with the Marines. The argument loses much of its persuasiveness, however, when used only by people who make their living by buttering up the Air Force. The happy fact is that our close air support in Vietnam is better than it was. By borrowing planes from the other services, and by using Air Force planes for purposes and missions for which they were never intended, and through the unlimited courage, dedication, and skill of American pilots, the job is being done.

The sad fact is, Mr. Speaker, that the report was and is correct. The Air Force has concentrated on missiles, bombers, and interceptors. It has never developed one plane for the primary purpose of providing close support for the foot soldiers on the ground. It is not the fault of the Air Force pilots in Vietnam. With the equipment they have been provided they have done wonders. It is the fault of the same high level Air Force policymakers who still feel obliged to deny that they have ever ignored the vital close air support mission. They count the number of missions flown, and the tons of bombs dropped, and the number of medals awarded, and never, ever, admit that if the ton of bomb which we've dropped for each Vietcong had hit the Vietcong, the Vietcong would have been long gone. As long as they keep their heads buried in the sand, they will continue to present most attractive targets.

### A Model: Tricity Cooperation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS  
OF

HON. JAMES H. (JIMMY) QUILLEN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 19, 1966

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to congratulate the officials and the people of the tricity area in my district.

This area is composed of my hometown of Kingsport, together with Bristol and

Johnson City, Tenn. Located on and near the Virginia border in eastern Tennessee, these three cities are striving to meet the future with action now, as is noted in the following editorial from the Johnson City Press-Chronicle.

I am pleased to bring this example of intercity cooperation to the attention of my colleagues and of the readers of the RECORD.

[From the Johnson City (Tenn.) Press-Chronicle, Apr. 7, 1966]

#### A COMMENDABLE STEP

The joint "Tourist of the Week" program approved by Johnson City, Kingsport and Bristol is an interesting step in tricity cooperation.

The tourist and conventions committee of the Johnson City Chamber of Commerce deserves credit for bringing the three cities together. We commend Chairman Ross Edgemon and the other committeemen for a good job.

It has been the position of the Johnson City Press-Chronicle for years that Johnson City, Kingsport, and Bristol should concentrate on area development and promotion, pooling their strength whenever possible for the overall good of the region.

A couple of years ago Kiwanis clubs of the three cities took up the idea and sponsored a series of goodwill tours which did much to break down barriers in communications and strengthen ties of understanding and friendship.

Tricity chambers of commerce have followed through by undertaking joint industrial promotion. And now comes the cooperative Tourist of the Week endeavor.

There is little doubt that in future years—and not far in the future either—the tricity will, to all intents and purposes, be one metropolitan area. It is to the advantage of all of us to anticipate the future by closing ranks now.

### Negro Pioneer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ADAM C. POWELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 19, 1966

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, the following article, written by Nell Ulman for the Wall Street Journal on April 15, pays tribute to a dedicated and honorable man, one who has been both a source of spiritual uplifting and energetic leadership to the Philadelphia community.

I was very pleased to read what Mr. Ulman said about this wonderful American, the Reverend Leon H. Sullivan. Over the years, it has been my pleasure and privilege to know him as a close friend and especially to know of the great work he is doing.

I feel my colleagues in both Houses will appreciate the efforts of this humble man, and for this reason, I have requested that the article be inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD in its entirety. It reads as follows:

NEGRO PIONEER: PHILADELPHIA'S REVEREND SULLIVAN PREACHES SELF-HELP, NOT PROTEST  
(By Nell Ulman)

PHILADELPHIA.—In recent months hundreds of men have made pilgrimages from around the Nation to a Baptist church at the

edge of this city's Negro slum. From over 40 different cities, including such disparate spots as Little Rock, Seattle, Los Angeles, Greensboro, N.C., and White Plains, N.Y., they have come to hear a new and unusual philosophy of Negro self-help.

Preaching this rapidly spreading gospel is Rev. Leon H. Sullivan, a dreamer and doer who this week became the second Negro to receive the Philadelphia Award, this community's highest honor to a citizen, for his "outstanding leadership." Charles H. Percy, former chairman of Bell & Howell Co., Senate candidate from Illinois and one of the pilgrims, calls him "one of the ablest leaders of men I have ever met."

The essence of Reverend Sullivan's message is a concept of job training put into practice here 2 years ago as the Opportunities Industrialization Center, many imitators of which are now popping up across the Nation. But Reverend Sullivan's vision sweeps far beyond this single concept; he envisages apartment complexes, shopping centers and banks built by corporations formed with capital from the Negro community and plowing back part of their revenues to expand the training centers in number and scope. Ultimately, he sees job training transforming relief lines into a skilled labor force.

The fulfillment of his vision, he predicts, will be the fruits of his new direction in civil rights—mobilization of Negro wealth for education and production. This, he says, is the logical sequel to programs of protest, "for the salvation of the Negro lies in his ability to help himself."

Hearing the 6-foot 5-inch prophet of the new direction explain how investors in two of his church-sponsored corporations can build hundred-dollar stakes into equities worth tens of thousands of dollars, a listener is struck with at least skepticism if not suspicion. But when Reverend Sullivan first promised a job training center created by Negroes several years ago, few believed him. Now there are five such centers just in Philadelphia.

#### HOW IT STARTED

It all started after local business had bowed to Negro boycotts for jobs and asked for a supply of qualified Negroes. Reverend Sullivan decided the Negro community had to train the workers itself. Door to door canvassing through the Negro slums and solicitation of small businessmen raised \$102,000. Appeals to local corporations brought forth \$250,000 in cash and equipment. The Ford Foundation gave \$200,000, the city gave a building, and the first OIC was born in February 1964 in an abandoned jailhouse. Hundreds turned out on a bitter cold day to cheer its dedication, and about 1,600 have since been trained and placed in jobs. While that number is small measured against the city's unemployed, the program has succeeded and grown where others, notably Government-sponsored efforts, have failed and died. When hundreds of applicants appeared too ill-educated for technical training in sewing, cooking, metalworking, drafting, electronics repair, carpentry and other skills, OIC did not turn them away, but created a "feeder program" to train them first in basic speech, grooming, writing and arithmetic.

The key to its success, Reverend Sullivan and other believe, has been OIC's community roots. "It was important to raise some of the funds from the community, even if we could have gotten them easier from the Government or a foundation," Reverend Sullivan says. "The people have a stake in these centers now, and they're not going to let them die." Also, as OIC keeps abreast of the latest industrial techniques to shape its courses and find jobs for its trainees, "it is establishing a dialog between the Negro community and the white industrial community, so that Negroes can begin to com-

April 19, 1966

municate with the white power structure," in Reverend Sullivan's view.

Gradually, the preacher has won over the skeptics. "When Reverend Sullivan told me 2 years ago OIC's would spread across the county, I smiled indulgently," says one observer. Now, with programs operating in 7 other cities and organized in 22 more, the doubter confesses, "I believe." Among the 22 about to begin classes is Los Angeles where representatives of several "rival" civil rights groups sit on an OIC board of directors along with local ministers and businessmen. The training center is located in the hearts of Watts, and the program is hailed as the first to galvanize that divided and riot-torn community into constructive self-help.

Similarly, skeptics have doubted Reverend Sullivan's scheme for an apartment complex providing low-cost housing in north Philadelphia. But with a group of parishioners at his Zion Baptist Church putting up the initial capital and the Federal Housing Administration insuring a million dollar loan, ground has been broken and what Reverend Sullivan calls the first of 20 apartment complexes is abuilding.

In all his projects, Reverend Sullivan places his tactical reliance on what he calls "the principle of concentration." The boycott for jobs which germinated OIC "concentrated" on one company at a time. ("Boycotting a downtown area is too diverse.") Similarly, with OIC: "We had a lot of problems and not much to start with, but we concentrated it on one thing—job training," he says.

The principle of concentration also guides the newest venture—real estate development. "In every colored community there's a diamond mine of resources," Reverend Sullivan declares. He introduces a visitor to an elderly deacon who claims to have a securities portfolio of \$90,000. "I've got 40 like him in the church," says Reverend Sullivan. "Forty like him. Money is no problem. People don't realize it's here because it's never been mobilized. But now we're going to show them."

The first demonstrations are the identifiably organized Zion Non-Profit Corp. and Zion Investment Associates, Inc., which both grew out of a church savings club. They started as an agreement in 1962 by 50 parishioners to save \$10 a month each for 36 months. Soon the investment group had grown to 225 people and the funds were split. About \$20,000 went to Zion Non-Profit to raise a million dollar loan. The money will create a 2-building, 96-unit garden apartment complex in north Philadelphia renting to middle-income families at \$78 to \$108 per month. The construction will also provide jobs for graduates of OIC building trades courses. When the apartment complex begins paying off its mortgage, Zion Non-Profit will begin another.

#### STOCK OFFERED TO PUBLIC

The rest of the investment club's funds went to capitalize Zion Investment Associates, Inc., which has already bought and operates a small north Philadelphia apartment building and plans to build a shopping center next to Zion Non-Profit's garden apartments. It has authorized shares of common stock for sale within the church and will offer shares of preferred through the church to the public. "When they refuse to rent to us now, they'll find us buying the building," comments Reverend Sullivan.

Not only is the Negro middle class participating in the development, but also anyone who can buy a \$10 share of stock or save \$10 a month. And it is this broad community participation in redevelopment that Reverend Sullivan holds so important. "There are times when protest may remain valid," he says, "but the real enthusiasm must be channeled into constructive action. Otherwise we'll find ourselves frustrated and

no nearer to freedom of opportunity than we were 15 years ago."

When God changed self-doubting Moses' rod to a serpent and back to a rod as He gave him instructions to lead the Israelites out of Egypt, He was telling Moses to "use what you have in your hands," Reverend Sullivan believes. And this is the theme he preaches in church and which guides his economic projects. "I'm on some sort of crazy beam and I can't get off," he says. "If I'm able to succeed, it's because I'm not political. I don't want money to blind me and I don't want politics to bind me. I must be free, and then I think my people will listen to me. If I'm right inside, they'll listen."

Leon Howard Sullivan was born in poverty in Charleston, W. Va., on October 16, 1922. "In those days a Negro either studied to be a teacher or a minister, or he went to the mines and loaded coal," recalls a fellow West Virginian.

In high school the young Sullivan conducted what he thinks may have been the Nation's first sit-in in a segregated Charleston lunchroom. "I walked up to the counter and recited the Declaration of Independence," he recalls with a grin. "They served me."

An athletic scholarship took the youth to West Virginia State College, where he played basketball and football, was ordained a Baptist minister at the age of 17, and wrote poetry about the Negro's struggle. A torn knee ligament in his junior year ended his scholarship, and Reverend Sullivan worked a 4-to-12 shift in a steel mill to pay the rest of his way.

#### HELP FROM POWELL

When the Reverend (now U.S. Representative) ADAM CLAYTON POWELL traveled to West Virginia in 1942, Reverend Sullivan asked him to talk to one of the small churches he then headed and Representative POWELL did. He also told the young preacher about New York's Union Theological Seminary, and gave Reverend Sullivan a job as an assistant pastor when he came to Union in 1943 at the age of 20.

"He was a real West Virginia mountaineer—tall and gangly and scared to death because he'd never been in the big city before," recalls Congressman POWELL. "I told him, 'You look like you never put on shoes before,' but I had faith in him. People liked him. He had a very winsome personality, and the number one thing you felt about him was his integrity. I wanted to make him a preacher—a man who wouldn't be afraid of a big crowd."

Reverend Sullivan's pulpit style is in the fiery and emotional Baptist tradition, and his emphatic shouting might surprise those who have heard only the calm, dignified tones of Reverend Sullivan the salesman explaining his economic programs. His sermons are short—10 to 15 minutes—and the themes are simple: Use what you have in your hands; set good examples for your children; clean up your language; don't waste your money on whisky.

Even while he informs and exhorts his congregation on his economic programs, he cautions them against too much materialism: "We're on the move economically and educationally, but we must be on the move spiritually, too."

At the groundbreaking of Zion Non-Profit Corp.'s apartment complex, Reverend Sullivan told the gathered crowd: "From this day on we intend not just to get some of the crumbs—but to bake some of the bread. We do not build just for colored men, but for all men; and we shall create business not just for colored men, but for all men."

One white southerner transplanted to the Philadelphia business community who holds little love for civil rights leaders "whipping up protest and false hopes" is spending the first years of his recent retirement as liaison man between OIC and the Philadelphia

Chamber of Commerce. "When all is said and done," he declares, "Leon Sullivan is going to be the man who has done the most for the Negro community. And there's not one segment of the community that won't profit by it—especially business."

## Agriculture Without Braceros Is Fine— For Mexico

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

**HON. BOB WILSON**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 19, 1966

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:  
[From Southern California Business, Mar. 28, 1966]

### AGRICULTURE WITHOUT BRACEROS IS FINE—FOR MEXICO

(By John Tooker, manager, agricultural and natural resources department)

With the termination of Public Law 78 on January 1, 1965, this chamber and many agricultural leaders predicted that this action would prove to be a tremendous stimulus to Mexican agricultural production.

What has happened to the thousands of Mexican nationals known as braceros who once came into California to work in our many crops which required large amounts of hand labor.

The braceros have stayed home and instead of their coming to California, they are literally sending us the fruits of their labors.

In 1965, 21,502 carloads of fresh fruits and vegetables came into the United States from Mexico, according to preliminary daily records of the Federal-State Market News Service. This was a 10-percent increase over 1964, and represents an increase of nearly 400 percent over 1955.

The leading commodities imported into the United States from Mexico are fresh market and processed tomatoes, cantaloupes, fresh and frozen strawberries, honeydew melons, and cucumbers.

It may seem coincidental that these are also California crops which at one time were the major user of braceros. It certainly seems that the braceros learned their lessons well.

#### LOCAL PRODUCTS AFFECTED

Because of the proximity and the tremendous population of the Los Angeles area, northwestern Mexico shipped a great many other products into this area. Some of these came in during the so-called off season for California grown produce but others compete directly on the open market for the locally grown southern California products.

Among the leading fruits and vegetables shipped into the Los Angeles market from Mexico are fresh market tomatoes, watermelons, peppers, cucumbers, green beans, egg plant, and squash.

In addition, 21 carloads of tangerines and 57 truckloads of oranges came into Los Angeles in 1965 from Mexico.

Fresh fruits and vegetables are not the only agricultural products coming in from Mexico. Canned and frozen fruits and vegetables are being produced at an increasing rate.

#### PRODUCTION STIMULATED

Earlier this month, Harry Graham, legislative assistant of the U.S. Grange told the North American Conference of International Agricultural Processors in Mexico City that the exclusion of farm labor from the United

A2134

Teilhard's enthusiasm for today and tomorrow was captured by the distinguished poet-philosopher, President of the Republic of Senegal, Leopold Sedar Senghor, who in a few days will open in Dakar, Senegal, on the shores of west Africa, the first International Festival of Negro Art. Several years ago, Senghor said, "We are now, all of us, of different features, color, language, customs, stirred and carried forward by the same movement of life. We are on our way toward the world of tomorrow, the world of the civilization of the universal."

You and I who have been touched by the same traditions which nurtured Teilhard de Chardin and Leopold Senghor, have the responsibility of transmitting and enlarging this most persuasive and universalistic movement to our fellow men throughout the world. Teilhard so clearly crystallized our duties in this era when he said, "The age of nations is past. The task before us now, if we would not perish, is to shake off our ancient prejudices, and to build the earth."

#### CREDENTIALS OF SPAIN

Spain has unique credentials to participate in this noble task. Long situated on the crossroad between Europe and South America, Spain has also served as a bridge between Europe and Africa.

Geographically, the Iberian Peninsula was long considered the doorway to the African Continent. The rich traditions of African art, architecture, music, and even blood are interwoven throughout Hispanic culture.

Some observers believe that Spain offers an extremely favorable climate for training the peoples from the new nations of Africa and Asia; for Spain, while fundamentally European in outlook, is closer to the spiritual value systems permeating the Afro-Asian cultures than some of the major Western powers.

Second, Spain with its racial mixtures, has very little difficulty in providing a racially acceptable atmosphere for Afro-Asian visitors.

Spain has also had some experience with forms of technical assistance, and this experience has been a successful one. Spain played an active role in the planning and execution of this economic aid, and while absorbing some of the method of the great industrial powers responsible for the assistance, the Spanish were able to adopt methods without compromising the fundamental values underlying the Spanish way of life. This problem is very similar to a fundamental challenge facing the Afro-Asian nations in regard to technical assistance.

Free from any scars of sustained racial discriminatory practices, Spain also has a political tradition different in some respects from the Anglo-Saxon world, but perhaps more akin to the traditions and needs of the Afro-Asian peoples.

It is not my role to say which form of institution or method in the Western world is most appropriate. This, rather, should be the decision of the Afro-Asian peoples—by observing and working with all aspects of political life in the Western World. It is the Afro-Asians who must then select or reject, refine or adapt.

A mistake has been made in some instances in the imposition of foreign constitutional and political forms on Afro-Asian societies. Several of the African countries have in the past year corrected these situations.

The goal is harmony, and it is in the interest of the Afro-Asian peoples that they develop institutions which will quickly end the triple curse and bring to them a minimum decent standard of living.

Again, we must not lose sight of the importance of developing institutions and following a method which will bring human dignity to peoples long afflicted with misery. In this regard, it is sometimes disturbing that some observers insist that the develop-

ing nations must follow certain political methods of a select few Western countries—like the two party system. There is nothing sacrosanct about the two party system, nor is it a guarantee that it will provide a form of government under which the citizens of the new nations can be allowed to live in a milieu conducive to a decent human life. Both the form of political structure and the method of socioeconomic development may vary from one to the other in the Afro-Asian countries depending on the historical connection with their metropolitan country or other circumstances.

It is in this context that Spain—a senior member of the Western community—should now recognize its unique credentials and offer her services where possible to the Afro-Asian peoples.

In this regard the Spanish people should overlook the fact that in recent years other members of the Western community have either ignored—or by blind commitment to a monolithic way of life—refused to accept the fact that the traditions which have existed in Spain for centuries are a glorious part of Western pluralism. The credentials of Spain to serve as a bridge between the West and the peoples of color are authentic. All of us in the West—regardless of past differences—should join the movement forward so that we can convert the vision of Teilhard and Pope John in reality.

Harmony is our goal, all of us in the human family have our responsibilities depending on our situation to work untirelessly in this noble task. Let us move forward as this is our destiny—harmony among all men of all races.

#### Humphrey on Asia

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

#### HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 19, 1966

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, the struggle in Vietnam has drawn varying reactions from across the country. Among the effective supporters of administration policy is Vice President HUMPHREY. He has spoke out forcefully in support of our efforts to aid the people of South Vietnam so that they can achieve social and economic progress under a government of their own choosing.

Whether or not we can succeed in that effort remains to be seen. However, the Vice President's views today are generally consistent with those he expressed during his many years of distinguished service in the U.S. Senate.

This consistency was pointed out in a recent article in the Minneapolis Tribune studying the record of the Vice President's statements over the years.

Because Members may be interested in this article I insert it for the record: IS HUMPHREY CONSISTENT ON ASIA?—A LOOK AT THE RECORD INDICATES HE IS

(By Charles W. Bailey)

WASHINGTON, D.C.—HUBERT HUMPHREY, once the darling of Democratic liberals, has in recent weeks come under heavy and sometimes bitter attack from some of his oldest political allies.

The criticism is aimed almost entirely at his support of Johnson administration policies in Vietnam—support which was given wide publicity during and after his mid-

winter tour of southeast Asia and the Pacific.

The liberal unhappiness has produced some startling, if perhaps transitory, turnabouts. At a February convention of the California Democratic Clubs—the State party's ultraliberal wing—HUMPHREY was roundly denounced while Senator ROBERT F. KENNEDY, Democrat, of New York, once a CDC arch foe, won ringing praise for his support of a Vietnam "coalition government" that would include Communist elements.

Throughout the liberal complaints about HUMPHREY runs one consistent theme: That the Vice President has changed his views, has compromised principle, to get in line with President Johnson's policy.

To test this proposition, the Minneapolis Tribune Washington bureau checked back through HUMPHREY's comments on Asia as far back as 1950, as recorded in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for the years in which he served—and spoke with great frequency—on the Senate floor.

The results suggest that HUMPHREY's new critics have overlooked or forgotten what he has been saying for the past 16 years about Asia and Asian communism.

An observer is also led to suspect that part of HUMPHREY's current problem with his old liberal pals lies in the very qualities which have in the past endeared him to them: his enthusiasm, his vivid rhetoric, his ability to deal with the subject at hand as though it were all that mattered in the world.

It was these personal qualities that gave so much bite to HUMPHREY's comments from Asia and after his return, rather than the newness of his ideas or his convictions.

Those who criticized his backing for the stay-and-fight policies of the President in Vietnam, for example, probably did not remember that it was HUMPHREY who said—in January of 1950—that "if we lose the south part of Asia \* \* \* we shall have lost every hope that we ever had of being able to maintain free institutions in any part of the Eastern world."

And those who were displeased with his exhortation of Asian and Pacific governments to take the lead in opposing Red Chinese expansionism might not have recalled a Senate speech in September 1950 when HUMPHREY said:

"Our only hope is to work with the free powers, to give them the chance to remain free and the opportunity to stand with us as participating partners in the great area of the world where conflict between the forces of freedom and slavery is now in its crucial stage.

"If we fail in this effort, we shall have lost everything for which we have worked."

In 1954, he told the Senate that "There is no hope whatsoever of the United States doing the job alone in any area of the world such as Asia \* \* \* the only possible hope of peace and stability in southeast Asia is for the Asians themselves to lead the great movement for stability and security in their own area, with our support and with the full support and under the auspices of the United Nations."

HUMPHREY also drew a good deal of scolding when he came home this winter and lectured Americans—including some prominent Senators and foreign affairs scholars—for failing to recognize the importance of Asia.

To observers who traveled with him, there was no doubt that HUMPHREY had succumbed to one of his old weaknesses—the capacity to be so exhilarated by direct personal exposure to a subject that he tends to forget that others may well have discovered it sooner.

But again a search of the record suggests that intellectually, at least, the position hasn't changed a great deal.

April 19, 1966

## CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — APPENDIX

A-100

are evolving rapidly into a village where all of us are in fact next door neighbors.

This is indeed a significant change from yesterday when time and distance separated man from man. It was only a few decades ago also that the world was dominated and bound by the traditions of white Western Europe. Those times have changed and you and I have witnessed the end of absolute domination of the world by a select few.

It is the beginning of a new chapter in world affairs. Great masses of civilization who, for centuries slept under the watchful eyes of their dominators, were suddenly seized by an impetuous and compelling thirst for human dignity. In the last two decades alone, the birth pangs of this era have shaken the world with its announcement that the people who constitute more than 60 percent of the world's population and who for the most part inhabit the great land areas of Asia and Africa—the two major locations of the people of color—have awakened to take their rightful place among the peoples of the world.

The peoples of color—whether in Asia, Africa, or the United States—having stood up with a suddenness that has surprised many, are demanding their full dignity as sons of the same Father of us all. In the most profound sense, the rise to power of the peoples of color challenges the fabric of Western society in every aspect of its values and institutions. The challenge and response are significant on moral, legal, political, and personal levels.

The peoples of color are bringing to judgment the stated beliefs of Western man. They have made it impossible to escape a judgment any longer. By his actions Western man is being judged; verbal postures are no longer enough. The moral acknowledgment of human dignity and the equality of men is woven inextricably into the cultural and religious commitments of Western man. When Western man turns his back on racial harmony, he is rejecting his heritage in the most self-destructive manner possible. Such rejection leaves him an empty shell, and his emptiness is proclaimed to the world—an embodiment of moral bankruptcy.

During the era of absolute Western domination, ideas and concepts of race superiority were allowed to develop and prevail. While there were moral forces opposed to the immorality of racial superiority, they were never able to successfully combat the protagonists of racism.

While the ideas of racial superiority were always morally wrong, they never presented any grave immediate threat to political tranquility. The North Atlantic power complex reigned supreme. Time and distance separated whites and nonwhites, and facilitated a minimum of confrontation. Now, out of concern for his very existence, Western man must look for greater harmony with the peoples of color.

It is clear that the several nations left in the world which preach and practice racial superiority are a threat to world harmony. Therefore, the moral and political forces in the Western world have a definite responsibility to review their attitudes and actions. If these pockets of racism within the Western white complex are not eliminated, can anyone expect the peoples of color to maintain a dialog with us?

In the United States of America over 20 million Negro Americans were prevented from enjoying the very rights and dignities which are inherent in mankind. At long last, a significant number of Americans—both white and black—have emerged from their motionless state and are presently seeking the full brotherhood which was articulated for them in laws and ideals many years before.

The overwhelming principle of love is the cornerstone of Christian morality. The official teachings of the Christian Church on race has been quite clear. Yet, we know that

these principles have been violated and ignored.

Historically, the church cannot escape the revolutionary changes in the world. On the contrary, these changes have already brought to the church the realization of one of its most essential characteristics—its universality. The church, which was drawn westward by the magnetic force of the Roman empire that dominated the world at its birth, sees the danger of being bound to a white Western cultural context which holds no meaning for the great masses of the world. Thus, when the more than 2,500 cardinals, archbishops, and bishops met in Rome for Vatican Council II, brown, yellow, red, and black bishops rubbed shoulders with their brothers from the white world in proclaiming, by example, to mankind the universality that has been preached for so long.

Ultimately, the problem of color must be solved on an individual basis. It is abundantly clear that this will require, in some Western countries, a revolution in individual psychology to match the political revolution sweeping the world. We must move quickly to establish closer contact and communication between whites and nonwhites. The wounds of past bitterness are so deep that it is difficult to foresee racial harmony until closer friendships are developed between members of different races. Such relationships sustain men in times of sadness and joy and in deeply personal encounters with life's uncertainties.

This is a task for mature Christians. We, who have lived in the Christian milieu, have learned of the power of love—a power which can enable us to break through the absurd walls of separation to reach the high point of human rapport which can untangle the maze of suspicion and fear that threatens our world.

We do not need to go far for guidelines in our future responsibilities. The glorious traditions of the Jesuit community have produced men of vision who have shown the way.

A great Jesuit prophesied this era and the opportunity for man to push to a higher plateau of harmony. The writings of Father Teilhard de Chardin, within 11 years of his death, offer us the inspiration to carry the enthusiastic forward-march doctrine to every fellow human being, wherever destiny may take us after today. Teilhard de Chardin saw the natural evolution toward greater harmony among all races. Certainly, we prefer the harmony of Teilhard de Chardin to the detestable doctrines of separation that only breed suspicions and hatred. His world was an evolutionary one—continually moving up and forward.

Pope John XXIII, who was the warm and gentle pastor of us all, sounded the clarion call in "Pacem in Terris." He committed us to this world, giving us a political philosophy governing relations between the individual and the state, and between states. Pope John, in "Pacem in Terris," called upon us to participate now in the human institutions of the world. You and I are compelled to enter the marketplace of daily activity and implement the social teachings that we have learned, and a fundamental teaching in the equality of all men before God. Any departure from this teaching is clear hypocrisy. Furthermore, ours is not to await uncommitted until the next kingdom, but rather to commit ourselves now, in this world, to implement the Christian ideals taught us, to exert every energy so that these ideals become a part of contemporary society.

The political revolution has swept into a world power position—the Afro-Asian peoples. They are a third force in world affairs. The Afro-Asian peoples have initiated a second revolution—a struggle committed to end the misery which has afflicted them and their ancestors.

The dreams of possession have been implanted, and the dreams are just as impet-

uous and compelling as the desire for political dignity. But the facts are that the peoples of color are—despite the acquisition of political dignity—still overwhelmed by the triple curse of poverty, illiteracy, and disease.

The white Western European man has a per capita income of \$813 with an average life span of 65 years. His white brother in North America has a per capita income of \$2,200 and lives to an average of 68 years. This is in comparison to our yellow or brown brother in Asia who has a per capita income of \$106 and lives to an average of 51 years. In Africa our black brother has a per capita income of less than \$100 and lives to an average of 40 years.

Pope John XXIII saw the danger of this when in "Mater et Magistra" he stated "given the growing interdependence among peoples of the earth, it is not possible to preserve lasting peace, if glaring inequality among peoples persists." His successor, Pope Paul VI, has reemphasized similar concerns.

The desire of the peoples of color—whether in Africa or Asia, or living in predominantly white countries—has been activated and will only be satisfied with one result—a human standard of living. Whether it be out of political prudence or moral judgment, we cannot turn from these frightening differences, where the comfortable of the world are white and are becoming more comfortable, and the poor of the world are mostly non-white and generally becoming more poor. The seeds of destruction can easily take root in such a gap in living standard, when this difference is also a "color gap."

Now that the world is reduced to the size of a village, Western man faces either a sunset of his greatness or a new sunrise of opportunities for increased harmony. Here my assumption is that we see a new sunrise.

Let us reduce the world to a village of 100. White people would number 31 and non-whites 69. There would be 33 Christians (23 Catholics, 10 Protestants), while the other 67 would be Jews, Moslems, Buddhists, Hindus, Shintoists, and other non-Christians. In this village of 100 there would be 8 Communists and 37 under the domination of Communists.

Future relationships in this village will depend on the ability of former power holders to accommodate themselves to the social changes taking place. Soon, a brown Filipino might become the spiritual leader of the Catholics.

This is the changing stage of the world. Mankind is becoming a small village of next-door neighbors. While the Western white residents are clearly a minority, there is a place for them as there is for the followers of Marx. But these two powerful adversaries are outnumbered by the worldwide community of non-Christian peoples of color. Thus the third force—the Afro-Asian peoples of color—has been assigned by destiny the noble task of playing a significant role in assuring that there is harmony in the village of mankind.

These new opportunities and challenges prompted Pope John XXIII to mobilize the spirit of rejuvenation as expressed in his two masterpieces of social philosophy, "Mater et Magistra" and "Pacem in Terris." Throughout these encyclicals, there is a constant awareness of the world as it is today—a world tightly knit in its interdependence, a world which cannot exist without a genuine and universal acceptance of mankind's dignity.

Spain—the birthplace of so many distinguished philosophers and scholars—is not foreign to the ideal of universal pluralism which permeated the writings of Teilhard de Chardin. This great thinker recognized the varied mixtures of mankind and the rich heritage characterizing each race. For Teilhard, mankind was entering a movement of new unity as we approach a universal civilization.

April 19, 1966

## CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — APPENDIX

A2135

"The peace of the world will be decided in the Far East, where we are least prepared, where we are the least understood, where we are the most unwelcome," he said—in 1950.

In 1953, he told the Senate: "The threat of international Communist aggression is most acute in southeast Asia." In 1955, again speaking of Asia, he said: "If the rest of the world becomes a Communist satellite area, our gold standard will not be worth anything \* \* \* we had better make up our minds that we are playing for keeps."

The theme was heard again in 1956, when he made a speech saying that "The danger to American objectives and interests is as great today in Asia as it was in Europe in 1947," and reminding listeners of Lenin's maxim that "For world communism the road to Paris lies through Peking and Calcutta."

HUMPHREY in 1955 argued that "If we abandon free Vietnam we shall have abandoned all of southeast Asia. Half of Vietnam is already gone; it is very possible that free Vietnam may not be able to be saved, even with our help."

"But surely we ought not to add to the difficulty \* \* \* if free Vietnam falls, or if the Communist elements take over, then every country in the corridor of southeast Asia will be in more difficulty, and we shall not be able to stop it."

And by 1960, the HUMPHREY tone was still more ominous: "I happen to believe that the most dangerous, aggressive force in the world today is Communist China \* \* \* it is from the Chinese Communists that the free world faces danger."

It must be said that the record is not one of total consistency on every point. Thus in March of 1962, HUMPHREY told the Senate that "it is to be hoped that American participation in this area (Vietnam) can be limited to military assistance, to supplies, and to military training, and it is my view, I state so there will be no doubt about it, that it should be so limited."

But in the next sentence, he added: "In all of this activity, there is a grave risk; but I say most sincerely that the greatest risk is Communist aggression, Communist conquest, and Communist advance. That we cannot permit, if it is humanly possible to stop it."

There are many more statements in the 16-year record, both before and after that 1962 speech. But the sum and substance of them, whether the immediate focus was Formosa or Korea or India or Vietnam, is the same as HUMPHREY's 1966 arguments: that Communist aggression in Asia is "the greatest risk" of all.

## Elbie Jay Goes to Wars

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 19, 1966

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, the satirist, Art Hoppe, has again directed his attention to the "Elbie Jay Family" and its various wars. His column, which was published in the San Francisco Chronicle on Sunday, April 17, follows:

ELBIE JAY GOES TO WARS

(By Art Hoppe)

Howdy there, folks. How y'all? Time for another tee-vee visit with the rootin'-tootin' Jay Family, starring ol' Elbie Jay, who loves nothin' more dearly than fightin' the good fight. No holds barred.

As we join up with ol' Elbie, he's a-settin' at his desk, going over battle plans with his

trusty aide, Hubert Horatio Whatshisname. Elbie looks pleased as punch. Hubert looks pleased as Elbie.

ELBIE. Medicare's passed. Denticare's proposed. Pedicare, manicare, and hairicare are in the works. Oh, it feels mighty good to be leading the forces of righteousness in my war on poverty and my war on cavities. Not to mention my uncoming wars on flatfeet, ugly cuticles, and premature baldness.

HUBERT. You're wonderful, Chief. You're doing a lot of good.

ELBIE. Right, Hubert. The polls show not 1 voter in 10,000 favors premature baldness.

HUBERT. You're wonderful, Chief. And don't forget your war on pollution, your war on erosion, your war on inflation, your war on—

ELBIE. You must be mighty proud, Hubert, to think that as my trusty aide, you'll go down in the history books. As a footnote, of course.

HUBERT. You're wonderful, Chief. But about this war on inflation.

ELBIE (frowning). Stop smiling, Hubert. It's a dead serious problem. In fact, if it gets any more serious the cost of living index is going to be a campaign issue. And you can't get problems more serious than that.

HUBERT. You're wonderful, Chief. But one thing I don't understand about your war on inflation.

ELBIE (worried). You got a poll shows some folks are in favor of inflation?

HUBERT. You're wonderful, Chief. No; I mean these threats you're making to raise taxes in order to curtail the rising cost of living.

ELBIE (relaxing). Oh, that. It's my economic system. Remember how last year I lowered taxes so folks would make more money and pay more taxes and thus wind up richer? Well, this year, what with the cost of living index going up, I figure I may raise taxes so folks will pay more taxes and wind up richer.

HUBERT (slightly dazed). You're wonderful, Chief. But I still don't see how raising taxes will lower the cost of living. Aren't taxes part of the cost of living?

ELBIE (smiling happily). They may be part of the cost of living, but they aren't part of the cost of living index. And that's the issue.

HUBERT. You're wonderful, Chief. I just wish more people understood your economic system.

ELBIE. It don't matter if they don't understand my economics. Just as long as they don't understand my system.

HUBERT. You're wonderful, Chief.

ELBIE. Hubert, with your keen judgment, you got the makings of a topnotch adviser in the many glorious wars I'm waging. Is there any we haven't mentioned?

HUBERT. Well, there's your war in Viet \* \* \*.

ELBIE. You're fired.

Well, tune in again, folks. And meantime, as you mosey on down the winding trail of life, remember what Elbie's ol' granddaddy used to say:

"Always fight the good fight. A good fight being one where everybody's on your side."

## Uneasy Citizen Writes Congressman

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LAURENCE J. BURTON

OF UTAH

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 19, 1966

Mr. BURTON of Utah. Mr. Speaker, the American citizen is uneasy about the war in Vietnam. He is concerned over

inflation. He notes with dismay an apparent weakening in the moral fiber and standards of our people. I receive letters every day from people voicing concern over these matters. One such letter is from Mrs. Margot S. Schulzke of Spanish Fork, Utah. It articulates well a point of view shared, I believe, by a majority of people in my district. I believe it would make worthwhile reading for all Members of Congress and, therefore, submit it for their consideration:

SPANISH FORK, UTAH,

March 17, 1966.

Congressman LAURENCE J. BURTON,  
Representative From Utah, U.S. House of  
Representatives, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. BURTON: I wish I had the time to write separate letters to you about each of the vital issues which concern us. However, in the interests of your time and mine, I am going to risk presenting my views on three issues in one letter, and hope that you will give them the attention they deserve despite the condensation.

First is the issue of taxation. To people in the middle or upper middle-income brackets, the increased rates of taxation are cause for consternation. But to us it is cause for desperation. We pay income tax, State income tax, sales tax, property tax, special assessments, excise tax, social security (how's that for a misnomer), gasoline tax, and the ad infinitum tax. You are squeezing blood from turnips, and you've been very fortunate to get what you've already taken. And when you've squeezed us dry, please don't imagine in your wildest dreams that those who are living off ADC and the recipients of the so-called war on poverty are going to come the rescue of the Nation. Rome made that fatal mistake almost two millennia ago.

If the constant upward spiral in taxes and the cost of living doesn't only come to a rapid halt but turn around and start back downhill soon, there will be another Boston Tea Party. But this one will be in Washington, and it won't be tea we'll be dunking. It will be President Johnson and the yea-saying Congressmen, any who have the gall to vote yes on 1 more cent of taxation. I don't know what kind of a game the President and the Congress are playing, but it looks to me like Russian roulette with all but one chamber in the revolver loaded. You are voting the majority of your taxpayers into the poorhouse. You might call it a war on responsibility. Well, I think I might have made myself clear on this score, and I shall wait for Congress to make itself loud and clear on the same score.

Now, how are you going to reduce taxes and still fight a war? Well, I suppose any good housewife can give you the answer to that one. Our family has less than \$7,000 a year to raise a family of five on. And we can't just go appropriate more anytime we see something we want but can't afford. It is called making a choice. And there are times when we must choose to leave something undone, something as essential as fillings for rotting teeth, because the money just isn't there. Our own good family doctor, who undercharges us if anything, is going unpaid right now while we pay about \$23 a month in social security so someone else can supposedly get free medical service. But only a few of those \$23 will ever reach a doctor. The rest will be used up in administration costs and graft. So, anyhow, what Congress can and must do is start trimming away all frills like the space program, the war on poverty, trips to Vietnam and other places by Members of Congress. Congressmen could start by taking a cut in salary. Certainly, justification can be found for all of these expenditures, just as we can find plenty of justification for our buying a car that runs, new shoes for our kinder-



A2136

## CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — APPENDIX

April 19, 1966

gartner, a badly needed new suit for my husband. But the money is not there. (The school lunch program has got to stay, though—removal of that program will hurt the children most of all; medicare is far less essential than that is.)

The second issue is that of pornography. While taxes are draining this Nation's strength and initiative, the flood of filth is doing the same to the Nation's moral fiber. Help had better come on this score soon. If need be, let us have a constitutional amendment with teeth in it. The question to be asked on this issue is whether the right of irresponsible and misled people to print, distribute, and read filth supercedes the right of women and children to walk out unmolesed and for the sanctity of our homes to be held inviolate. To which segment of our society is the Government responsible; the perverts and sadists or the innocent? Which?

The third issue is Vietnam. My husband and I wholeheartedly support our being there, as long as freedom is the end result. Not a truce, not a coalition government. But let's quit wavering. I believe that the chief reason several governments have deposed pro-Communist leaders of late is our taking a position against the spread of the Communist cancer in Vietnam. It has nothing to do with phony prestige in the space race, or it would have happened long ago. But—and this is a big "but"—let's get down to business there. Are some men going into battle in tennis shoes in Vietnam in areas where the Cong have covered the ground with spikes? Are hundreds of British and other allied ships trading with Hanoi? If so, why? Shouldn't we insist that it stop, now? And if they refuse, shouldn't we mine the ports of North Vietnam? Shouldn't we threaten to break diplomatic relations with nations who are supplying our enemies? If every measure necessary to a speedy and complete victory there is not taken soon, I think we should turn from exploration of outer space to the study of the space between the ears of the men responsible for our policy over there.

I realize the tone of this letter is one of anger. The anger is not directed at you personally, Mr. Burton, because I feel that you probably concur in what I have said. But I would like some action taken on these problems by you and anyone you can persuade to join you—not just talk, but bills. I hope that doesn't seem to be asking too much—in light of all our Government has been asking of us, I don't think it is.

I might add that my husband and I are both people who take action on our convictions. We rang doorbells, made speeches, and made phone calls, wrote letters—generally stuck our necks way out—for the candidates we believed in during the last national election. We will do the same again.

Sincerely,

### Bigger Farm Exports Through Government-Industry Cooperation

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

**HON. CLAIR CALLAN**

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 19, 1966

Mr. CALLAN. Mr. Speaker, one of the big changes in American agriculture is the active new role of our farmers in export markets.

We have sold our farm products to the world for many, many years—cotton,

grains, tobacco, fruits, mainly. But this selling has not always been done in a determined and organized manner. What our own people could not eat, wear, or otherwise use, we offered to the world market. Under this rather relaxed approach, our agricultural exports were worthwhile but never reached the extremely high volume and high value that we have attained during these 1960's.

Today we have an aggressive agricultural export program in operation that reaches throughout the free world. It is a program with a wide home front for it is backed up by American agriculture, American business, and American government, both Federal and State. It recognizes that dollars earned abroad are as important as dollars earned at home. And it is getting things done. Our agricultural exports this fiscal year will total \$6.5 billion or more, by far the largest in our history, a gain of 45 percent in just 5 years. At least \$4.8 billion of these exports will be commercial sales that bring back dollars to the United States.

Today, for the first time, we have an export promotion program that rivals that of the other countries that compete with us in the world market. The Danes have long been known for their exports of bacon and eggs; the Dutch cheese; New Zealand, butter; Australia, wool; Brazil, coffee; and so forth. For years they have successfully placed their products before consumers through worldwide advertising and promotion campaigns. Now we are doing this too, and doing it well as our climbing export statistics show.

One of the chief vehicles being used in this campaign is the foreign market development program sponsored by the U.S. Department of Agriculture and carried out by private business and agricultural organizations through joint Government-industry financing.

This program was authorized when section 104(a) of Public Law 480 placed market development first among the uses to be made of foreign currency acquired in exchange for surplus agricultural commodities. Congress has since gone further and specified that not less than 5 percent of these currencies be reserved for market development, and that at least 2 percent of them must be convertible into hard currencies for use in countries where the best dollar markets lie.

In the past few years, this program has risen to a peak of accomplishment.

It now involves some 45 private trade associations, working in 70 countries, operating about 50 overseas offices, and contributing nearly \$6 million a year in the form of cash and supervisory services.

Most of these associations are nationwide in scope and are organized on a commodity basis. Many were formed specifically to take part in this program. They do no actual trading; their job is to do promotional work on behalf of their members, who may be producers, processors, traders, or in some cases, all three.

This has proved to be a highly effective combination of public and private talents. It has been a major factor in making Japan our No. 1 agricultural customer and developing soybeans, feed grains, and wheat into billion dollar a year ex-

port commodities. It has been responsible for specific export achievements, such as the introduction of U.S. rice into Western Europe and South Africa; the introduction of U.S. frozen poultry into Germany, Italy, and other countries; the promotion of soybean oil in Spain, now our leading cash customer for that product; the use of U.S. turkey to supplement scarce veal supplies in Italy; the development of a quality emblem for U.S. export poultry; a sharp rise in exports of U.S. dairy breeding cattle; and many others.

It is a fine example of what can be accomplished when government and industry pull together to achieve a common goal.

#### Vested Interests in Poverty

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

**HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI**

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 19, 1966

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, there is irrefutable evidence of the massive and costly failure of the mislabeled war on poverty. The Chicago Tribune, in a timely, practical editorial on Saturday, April 16, pointed out some of the obvious questionable and costly developments in this area.

#### VESTED INTERESTS IN POVERTY

The politically pleasing thing often backfires. So Sargent Shriver, commander of the "war on poverty," learned to his chagrin at a Washington "poor people's convention" Thursday. Mr. Shriver was shouted down in his attempt at a speech and the meeting of what was called the People's Crusade Against Poverty disintegrated in anger and chaos.

The dissidents' complaint was that huge wads of Federal money, taken from productive taxpayers, was not filtering down to the poor. A woman from the Watts district of Los Angeles, where Negro rioters last August looted and burned for 6 days, causing 35 deaths and \$200 million in property damage, assailed Shriver bitterly.

"When all this poverty money is spent," she cried, "the rich man is going to be richer and I'm still going to be receiving a welfare check." A Washington settlement worker demanded, "Tell us where the poor are being helped."

Other disgruntled elements had their say. A delegation of Mississippi "Freedom Democrats" was on hand to assert its claims to party control in the State. The war in Vietnam was denounced by a Chicago dropout from the public schools who said it was unfair; for "young black men to go to war and fight for something they've never had."

The Johnson administration embarked on the poverty war as a means of political exploitation of inchoate resentments. The program was initiated in the fiscal year 1965 with an appropriation of 793 million, but only 211 million could be spent. The appropriation for the current year is 1 billion 434 million, of which 1 billion 210 million is expected to be spent. Appropriations requested for the coming fiscal year are 1 1/4 billion. Projections are that appropriations will rise to 3.4 billion in 1970.

As in all such ventures, bureaucracies are soon created and vested interests materialize. Shriver's own bureaucracy has the highest proportion of administrators earning more than \$19,000 a year than any depart-